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H I S T O R Y
OF
NEWBURYPORT;

**FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT OF THE COUNTRY
TO THE PRESENT TIME.**

WITH A
BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX.

BY MRS. E. VALE SMITH.

NEWBURYPORT:
1854.

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PREFACE.

As there are extant, two partial Histories of Newburyport, it may perhaps be considered a presumptuous and superfluous work to add another. But neither of the works alluded to, even *aim* to give a *complete* history of Newburyport. Mr. Cushing's work, published twenty-eight years ago, covers only a period of sixty-two years, from 1764 to 1826—leaving one hundred and fifty years since the settlement of what is now called Newburyport, to be accounted for. Mr. Coffin's "History of Ould Newbury," contains some direct, and much incidental information concerning Newburyport; but treats with exceeding brevity, periods of the greatest interest in the history of the town; and is also combined with much that has no particular interest to citizens of Newburyport. It is therefore believed that a History, which comprehends the whole period of time since the occupation of the land by white settlers to the present—with only so much of collateral history as shall suffice for a right understanding of our own, is called for; and if faithfully performed, will not prove a useless addition to the literature of Essex County.

As a history of any place or people should contain within itself every essential fact bearing upon the character or fortune of the place or people described,—no matter how much other books contain on the same subject—it may become necessary, in delineating the progressive life of Newburyport, to narrate some things which to the

older inhabitants may appear trite and familiar, but which are nevertheless component parts of its history, and could not be excluded without injuring the unity of the work. For the same reason we shall introduce some brief description of the state of the surrounding country, and even cross the seas to find the source of changes which affected the happiness and destinies of our ancestors.

It will be readily perceived by the intelligent reader that the history of a seaport town is essentially different from that of an inland one: the latter has comparatively little connection with foreign countries, while the former is continually affected by the policy assumed by even distant nations. This is peculiarly the case where extensive commercial relations have been sustained, as in Newburyport. And then circumstances demand of the historian who would faithfully delineate the times, a somewhat extensive acquaintance with the foreign policy of other nations, extending the area to be explored, and increasing the labor of the writer, but furnishing for the reader a variety of topics, the absence of which is apt to mark with monotony the records of country towns, remote from all external influences.

The principal authorities consulted in the preparation of this work have been Bancroft's History of the Colonization of the United States; the Massachusetts Historical Collections; the Massachusetts Historical and Genealogical Register; Pitkin's Civil and Political History of the United States; Allen's and Warren's do.; Allison's and Russell's Histories of Europe; White's History of New England; Parish's do.; Histories of Newbury, Lynn, Rowley, Portsmouth, Plymouth; Histories of the Indian Wars, and Naval Histories; National, State, County, Town, and City Records and files; Custom House, Church, and Society Books; the Records of Incorporated Institutions, Historical Sermons, and Addresses; private journals, accounts, letters, and unpublished manuscripts; legal proceedings, deeds, affidavits, &c., together with the personal narrations of the intelligent aged; and nearly complete files of the newspapers published in Newburyport since 1778.

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INTRODUCTION. .

To write the History of a Town or City, resembles much the work of a Biographer ; for though composed of numbers, these separate units, in their corporate capacity, form but a single figure ; they have a physical structure which is their own, wants unfelt by others, and means of enjoyment within themselves, in which the stranger has no part, except by courtesy or invitation. To write such a history, then, while the subject is still alive and vigorous, is both a perilous and delicate undertaking. It is like selecting a single individual from his family connections, drawing his portrait, *as he looks to you*, and then passing it around, among his own blood relations, to be criticised by them, and recognized by himself—if that is possible.

It may appear to some an easy task to collect materials for such a work ; and to write upon a subject which is familiar in so many of its aspects. But in many respects, it would be much easier to write a history of the United States, than to select a single state, or still more a single town. Ample material for the first is already provided ; in the latter, much has still to be sought for : to carry out the simile with which we commenced, it is both safer and rougher work to sketch the public acts of a nation, than to select an individual, from out of a limited circle, for portraiture. Where large, diffused, and heterogeneous masses are described, as they must be if at all, with a bold pencil, and spread out on a wide canvas, which does not admit of being examined minutely, the artist does not

attempt to bring out the particular features of each, composing this multitude, with that distinctness and truth which the miniature of a friend, which is laid on the table for daily inspection, is expected to possess.

In comprehensive works, which include in their descriptions great varieties of scenes, time and actors, these subjects may be dealt with in the mass in such general terms, that if they do not convey the impression we think they should have done, still the treatment is frequently too vague to admit of our entering a special plea against it. We see a general family likeness, and are content; not expecting minute accuracy where breadth and coloring, light and shadow, are the chief elements in the picture. In describing a nation, if the recital is not flattering no one in particular feels injured, deeming himself an exception; but in describing a township, every native feels himself an inseparable portion of it, and necessarily sharing in the character ascribed to it. If an error creeps in, it is sure of detection too, for this corporate individual whom we have undertaken to draw, is no common person; though he may be said to possess one soul, he has as many heads as a hydra — not so fierce, or we should not have ventured, pen in hand, within his reach, — but with the united judgment of so many brains, so much learning, and so many memories, among them all the truth must be known, and nothing less than the truth will serve them. With the hundred eyes too of Argus, with which to see our short-comings, it is gratifying to be able to record that he has Briarean hands, which have been freely used to aid us.

The retrospective view which we have been obliged to take, in arranging the earlier history of the town, combines much that is picturesque and romantic in its general aspect. Little more than two centuries have elapsed, since the ground we now occupy was covered with the primeval forest, which grew in hardy freedom almost to the water's edge;* slight to the eye of man would then have been the tokens that these woods shielded living human beings, or that the pure waters which rolled untamed from the snowy mountains of the North, till they met in its sober strength the broad arm of the ocean, forbidding its farther wanderings, and betimes rolling

* Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. 4.

it back to its sequestered sources, were ever the bearer of the birch canoe, and the swarthy occupants of these frail, romantic barks. The huts of the red man had already shrunk and decayed, as if in prescient comprehension that these tall oaks must be felled, to make the white man's ships, and the haunt of the deer must be mown away for the more useful, but less picturesque fold of the white man's herds and flocks. A few poor and degenerate Indians, the last of their race, wasted by the pestilence, and destroyed by the hand of savage enmity, first shrunk from the presence, and then sought the protection of the coming sovereigns of the land.

Little more than two hundred years ago, and while the solitude of the southern banks of the Merrimac were almost unbroken by the voice of savage or cultivated man, save here and there a solitary and hardy pioneer who had erected his hut by the banks of this fruitful stream,—at such time the lonely stranger might have seen, a few short miles to the south, on the bank of another river, a scene that was destined to change all that he beheld, so that the Sachems of Agawam, starting up from their resting-places, should no more recognize the land of their fathers. On the banks of that other river stood a party of wayfarers who had at last reached their journey's destined end. They stood there on the ground which they now called their own,—they stood there, after many perils of the land and of the sea—they stood there with the sanction of the only church which they revered—they stood there, men and women, with their children, and their cattle, and their goods—to take possession of the land and to subdue it.

How they fulfilled their destiny, we have only to look around us and see to-day. That little band, sitting down by that silent stream, soon taught its unfurrowed waters to labor for their sustenance; the tall trees were levelled with the earth, and sprang up anon in the form of dwellings; the hill-sides, bleak and cold in the early spring time, were presently covered with the creatures which were to furnish the next year's raiment for that undaunted band. And yet a little while expanding in their strength, offshoots were seen, stretching to the West and the North, and saying, "Make way, for the place is too strait for us." A few more summers and a few more snows, and the wrought and labored highways, radiating in

every direction,—the compact and substantial dwellings, and spire and steeple pointing up to Heaven, told to the wandering Indian, in accents not to be mistaken, that a people of another lineage and another faith, were firmly planted on the soil once teeming with his hardy braves ; and that the Merrimac, in which he had been wont to spear the sturgeon, and on whose banks in winter's depths he had tracked on snow-shoes the flying deer, was now to be spanned into a highway by the builder's art ; and its lucid waters were destined to bear the treasures of four continents to its shores.

Two hundred and twenty years have passed, and all this and much more has been long accomplished.

PERIOD I.

THE SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH OF NEWBURY.

The Indians whom the first English settlers found in the territory we now occupy, were of the Pawtucket nation. This tribe laid claim to all the country lying between the Piscataqua river, and the river Charles, and back, inland, to what is now Concord, New Hampshire. They had one chieftain, who resided at his pleasure at different places within this domain, called Nanapashemet (1680.)* Under him were subordinate chiefs, called Sagamores, and the district lying between the Merrimac and Naumkeag rivers, and extending to the present site of Andover, was under the particular rule of a Sagamore, named Masconomo or Masconomhet, called by Winthrop the Sagamore of Agawam, from which Ipswich received its first name. But the Pawtuckets, though numbering at one time 3000 warriors, had been fearfully reduced by two dreadful scourges, previous to any attempted settlement of Newbury. Towards the eastward, on the banks of the Penobscot, lay their powerful and warlike enemies, the Tarratines, who twenty years before had overrun the entire country of the Pawtuckets; leaving the land, from the Penobscot to the Blue Hills of Milton (the home of the Massachusetts), strewed with the victims of their revenge; thousands of unburied dead strewed the banks of every stream, and

* Previous to 1752 the year commenced in March, which was consequently the first month, and February, which is now the second, was the 12th. Ten days must be added to any date in the sixteenth century, and eleven days in the seventeenth, to bring them up to the present style of reckoning.

polluted the free air of the primeval forests ; so much so, that the plague which followed in the train of this calamity, went like a gleaner over the fields, gathering up the remnant which the arrow and the tomahawk had left.

But though the Sagamore of Agawam escaped the scalping-knife, and the more lingering death which had swept off the strength of his followers, he was in no condition to contend with his ancient foes, and gladly sought the protection of the English,* and thus was prepared for our fathers, a peaceable and unobstructed possession of their new homes.

The land itself, from its first discovery by the elder Cabot, (if we reject the enticing Scandinavian and Welch legends,) was visited successively by Gosnold and Martin Pring, in 1602-3 ; but the first regular survey of this portion of the coast was made by the celebrated Captain John Smith, the founder of Jamestown, who in 1614 made an expedition to the north-east, and on his return to London, published an account of this part of the country, with a map of the coast ; and the land itself nominally passed into the possession of many hands before it was won by our ancestors for themselves. In 1620, it was granted to Sir Fernando Georges and others, in the name of the Grand Council of Plymouth, and under this patent was first called New England, by royal authority. The next year, this Council granted to one John Mason "all the land from the river of Naumkeag (now Salem) to the mouth of the Merrimac ;" and in 1622, this grant was extended to the Piscataqua. Again the land was sold to another party ; the Council of Plymouth, most of whom remained in England, sold "that part of New England which lies between three miles north of the Merrimac river and three miles to the south of Charles river," to a company of six gentlemen, including John Endicott,† one of Salem's illustrious names. This patent, it will be seen, infringed upon that already granted to

* On the 8th of March, 1634, "Maskanomet," (so written,) with four other Sagamores, voluntarily submitted themselves to the government of Massachusetts, and signed a document in which they also professed themselves willing to be instructed in the Christian religion.—*Colony Records*, vol. 1.

In 1646 the General Court granted him special permission to have his gun mended by a smith ; no smith being allowed to repair fire-arms for an Indian without leave.

† Bancroft, vol. 1, chap. 9.

Mason. But not content with its having been twice sold, the last named company, some of whom remained in England, obtained in 1628 another charter from King Charles, re-confirming their patent given by the Council of Plymouth, and obtaining in addition, the right to exercise powers of government. This charter was in the name of the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, in New England." In this Charter, the Merrimac is designated as "a great river, there [in New England] comonlie called Monomack alias Merriemack." Under this charter, Endicott was appointed de facto governor, but was speedily superseded by Winthrop. At first, all the freemen under this charter were obliged to go to Boston to vote,* but ere long the plan of sending representatives was adopted, to the great relief of the colonists. Each settlement having ten freemen, was entitled to a deputy. The Governor and Council assumed jurisdiction over the Indians left within the territory, as well as the white inhabitants. In 1631 we find that the Sagamore of Agawam, the late lord of the land we occupy, was forbidden by the General Court, to "enter any Englishman's house, for a year, under penalty of ten beaver skins;" which punishment was inflicted, on account of his having, in some way, given affront to his ancient enemies, the Tarratines; and the Governor probably feared another irruption of that still unsubdued tribe. Yet, under the noble Winthrop, no white man was permitted, with impunity, to injure an Indian. A Mr. Josias Plaistow, having stolen *four* pecks of corn from an Indian, was ordered by the Court to return eight pecks; and "to be hereafter called *Josias*, and not *Mr.* as formerly he was;" and though two kings had granted the land to the emigrants from England, satisfaction was also made to the resident Indians, as existing records show.

Nearly a hundred and ninety years after the first settler had planted his cabin by the side of the Merrimac (in 1822), the bones of an Indian, a tomahawk, an aboriginal stone pipe, and two whet stones were found upon digging into a lot of ground, on Market street; the spot, when selected for burial, probably being chosen as

* On page 166, vol. 1, of the Records of the General Court, we find it recorded, "that Newberry shall have liberty to stay so many of their freemen at home, for the safety of their town, as they shall judge needful, and those who are so stayed at home, shall send their voices by proxy."

a sequestered place, which the friends of the deceased fondly hoped would forever conceal the remains from stranger eyes. The idea was broached, at the time that these interesting relics were discovered, that the place had been used as a cemetery; but had this been the case, these would not have been solitary witnesses of the long departed race.*

Whatever unsettled claims the descendants of Masconomo held, to any portion of their original inheritance, were formally resigned, by his grandchildren, by deeds given to the several towns then existing within the limits of ancient Agawam. Among these was Newbury. In behalf of himself and heirs, Samuel English, a grandson of Masconomo, in 1701, in consideration of ten pounds current money, paid him by the Selectmen of Newbury, confirmed to them and their heirs forever, a "tract of land, ten thousand acres more or less, containing the township of Newbury, being bounded north and north-west by the river Merrimac, east by the sea, west by Bradford line, and south by Rowley." The document in which this transfer of ten thousand acres is made, in consideration of ten pounds, is signed and sealed by the said heir of the "Earldom of Agawam," witnessed by two Justices of the Peace, and dated January 10th, 1701, just sixty-six years after the settlement of Newbury (Old Town); and at this time there was not above a score of Indians in the place, and most of those which still survived, were in an abject condition; and the payment, therefore, of any consideration, must have been a matter of pure choice, and the ten pounds paid by Newbury, a mere peace offering, to allay the impotent complaints of this degenerate representative of the original lords of the soil.

The part of Newbury first settled was the northern bank of the Quascacunquen (now Parker) river; which inclines us to the belief that the centennial deposit, at the mouth of the Merrimac, which has occurred twice since that period, was then in unpromising existence at the entrance of the river. Twice within the history of the

* Other mementoes of the race have been found in the lower part of the town. Captain J. Woodell found a piece of an arrow-head in his field, and on land which has probably been cultivated over two hundred years, is occasionally turned up some fragmentary witness of the existence of the departed Pawtuckets.

settlement of the southern shores of the Merrimac, have the envious tides, receiving their direction from the point of Cape Ann, endeavored to dam up the entrance to the harbor, by the formation of large deposits of sand on the permanent bar ; dividing the water into two indifferent channels. The process takes about a hundred years ; and these facts accord with the statement of an early visitor* to this part of the country, who speaks of the Merrimac as a "gallant river," but disparagingly adds, "the entrance to which, though over a mile in breadth, and having *two passages*, is barred with shoals of sand, and a sandy island lyeth against the mouth."† That the "sandy island" was soon after washed away, and one improved passage laid open to the adventurous mariner, is certain. But the want of a good channel to the Merrimac in 1635, was the turning-point which induced the first settlers of Newbury to locate on the banks of the Quascacunquen ; for though a pastoral people, they justified their choice by the conclusive argument that the favored stream afforded a "safe and easy passage to vessels ;" and Wood (before quoted) says of the Ipswich and Quascacunquen rivers, "they have fair channels, in which vessels of fifty or

* Wm. Wood, who came to this country in 1629, and stayed four years ; when he returned to England and published "New England's Prospect" (1634), and the next year a map of this part of the coast. In 1636 he returned to this country and settled in Lynn.

† In 1840 a new channel, a quarter of a mile wide, was opened through Salisbury beach. At this time the sand had so accumulated on the bar, that no large vessel could safely venture over with the wind from any point between N. W. and N. E., it being almost certain that if she missed stays, the channel being so narrow, she would go on shore on the north breaker, or Plum Island. The new channel, had it continued, would have shortened the distance from the bar to the town over a mile ; and it was proposed to secure it by artificial means, but the hope of accomplishing this proved fallacious, and the shifting sands were found as untamable as ever. Nearly as great changes took place towards the close of the eighteenth century. The site of the fort which was built on Plum Island, to protect the harbor during the Revolutionary war, would now, by the changes in the channel, be found on the Salisbury shore. In December, 1795, public notice was given to mariners making this harbor, that on account of the shifting of the bar, the lights on Plum Island were moved so as to range "W. by S., running in, and E. by N., going out." Between 1820 and 1826, the north end of Plum Island wore away more than 600 feet, and persons were then living who could recollect when vessels, drawing from six to seven feet, could sail round Plum Island at *low tide*.

sixty tons may sail;" evidently inferring that either of these rivers was better adapted for the general purposes of navigation, than the Merrimac. That the bar and general configuration of the approaches to the Merrimac have materially altered, rather than that these first explorers were so egregiously deceived, appears a reasonable conclusion; as within the remembrance of many now living, there have been considerable alterations in the approaches to the Merrimac, and we can scarcely speculate on the position of these shifting sands two hundred and twenty years ago.

But though the first regular settlement was made in the neighborhood of the lower green, (Old Town,) yet we find that two years earlier, (Sept. 3, 1688,) the General Court "granted liberty to Mr. John Winthrop, Jr., and to his assigns, to set up a trucking [trading] house, upon Merrimac river." And some time after, we find an additional favor granted him, viz., the right to employ an Indian* "to shoot at fowle;" and we know from collateral testimony that as early as this, sturgeon was taken from the Merrimac, pickled and shipped to England. The stray settlers who engaged in this business, were not numerous enough, however, to excite the jealousies of the organized companies and permanent settlers, who followed in successive bands close upon them. The first of these, coming with the sanction and approval of the General Court, removed from the earlier settled Agawam, or Ipswich, in the spring of 1635,† and consisted of twenty-three men, whose names are preserved, with their families and servants; the pastor with his people. A church and a miniature democracy were combined in that little company. Following Plum Island river or sound till they entered the Quascacunquen, they landed with their goods, and what live stock they could transport, near where the bridge now crosses the familiar stream called "Parker river." Between them and their friends at Agawam, lay the unbroken forest; before them, and around them, the unsubdued wilderness; no roof welcomed them, no eye was there to kindle at their coming, and to greet them. The home which they

* One of the early laws of the colony forbade the employment of any Indian, or the sale to them of any fire-arms, except by consent of the General Court.

† "May 6th" in the Company books is recorded, "Newbury is allowed to be a plantation."

here anticipated, they must first make. And resolutely they set to work, unsheltered, till with their own hands they had felled the primeval forest, and reared a temporary refuge from the evening dews and the mid-day sun. This was soon accomplished, and in the course of the ensuing summer months they were joined by many additional emigrants. Newbury was incorporated, as soon as settled, by the only Act of incorporation which she ever received, viz., the recognition, by the General Court, of her right to send deputies to that body, which was done the first year of its settlement. No less than sixteen vessels had arrived at the colony of "ye Massachusetts Bay" within three months of the first movement towards Newbury; all freighted with liberty loving souls, attracted by the fame of the free homes of Massachusetts, and a large number of these came immediately to Newbury. The territorial limits of the town were among the largest of any in the province; it contained about thirty thousand acres, of which, perhaps, two thousand were covered with water, including the sea-shore at high water, rivers and ponds. It measured thirteen miles in length, and six in breadth.

At this time, it was the policy of the colonial government to encourage settlements to the eastward, in order to meet the designs of the French, and, if possible, preëccupy all the lands north-east of Salem; the whole of the territory which King James had granted to the Plymouth Company in 1606, having also been granted by Francis I of France, to De Montes, three years before, in 1608. Yet the French had but nominal possession of any land south of Cape Sable, though their boundary lines extended to the Penobscot.* But the Governor of Massachusetts, dreading their influence, and fearing they would prove bad neighbors, was anxious to extend the English settlements as fast as possible in that direction. And it was probably through this direct influence, that so many of the emigrants of 1635 came to Newbury. Yet, in his desire to "prevent the French Jesuites," Governor Winthrop was not unmindful of the character of the men whom he destined to occupy this part of the province, as a barrier to French aggression. And thus, in conjunction with the General Court, he not only forbade any to locate themselves within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts without leave, but

* Bancroft's Hist. Colonization U. S. vol. 1, chap. 9.

"misliking" some of those who had already settled at Agawam, he forthwith ordered their removal.

The church of Newbury was first gathered under the wide-spread branches of an ancient oak, under whose shade stood the faithful pastor, who had accompanied some of his little flock from England. In the "open ayre," on or near the lower green, was the first sermon preached within the limits of Newbury.*

In tracing the history of the New England towns, we almost invariably find the *church* to be the nucleus around which the future *town* was to grow. This order of events would have followed naturally enough, without the assistance of any official interference. The predominating motive, in the first settlers, being freedom of worship for themselves, many of the larger companies bringing their minister with them, it could scarcely fall out otherwise, but that they would locate with direct reference to the maintenance of their church fellowship; depending on accessions from their friends, for increase and the growth of political influence. But this order of settlement was systematically encouraged by the rulers of the province, who granted no lands, nor sanctioned the removal of any number of persons unless they were able and willing to "maintaine ye ministrie among them."

The first object, after dividing the lands and apportioning the common pasturage for the sheep and cattle, was to build a house for the minister, and a "meeting-house." In the division of the land, the general rule was observed, to grant a larger tract to those who had property, and less to those who had none; and though at the first thought it appears an unreasonable and unjust mode of division, that the rich should have more granted them because they were rich, and the poor had little given them because they were poor, yet there were many reasons which rendered this unequal appropriation advantageous, if not absolutely necessary at that time, the principal of which was, that there being but little wealth among the mass of the colonists, it was desirable to offer inducements to the higher classes to emigrate; and as the colonial government had nothing else to give, and had abundance of unoccupied land, this system of appropriation might be considered the premium offered to those having property in England, to unite their fortunes with their poorer

* Popkin's Hist. Sermon

brethren in the wilderness, and help build up the church of God in this Western World. And though a strong religious sentiment was the great motory power which moved forward the tide of emigration in those days, yet it is not to be supposed that these grants in perpetuity of large tracts of land, were without their influence in deciding many to leave forever the land of their fathers. Neither should they be charged with selfish or unworthy motives on this account. A family reared in, and having many attachments to an old country, with the physical comforts of a lifetime gathered around them, but without much surplus wealth, would be exercising but ordinary prudence, if they secured to their families, in lieu of all this, a gift of wild land, which in course of years would far exceed, in pecuniary value, what they relinquished, but to attain which, they must encounter the risks and privations of a long sea-voyage, and all the hardships unavoidably connected with the settlement of a new country. To induce, then, this class of the "godly sort," to emigrate, fifty acres were given to each person who came at his own expense to the colony; and for every fifty pounds in money which he paid into the common stock, he received two hundred acres of land. Also, if any persons in England sent over, at their own expense, any "sound healthy person," the same proportion of land was awarded to them; and in this way there became many owners of real estate in Massachusetts, resident in England.

When the land came to be divided in Newbury, there was great inequality in the grants to different persons forming the first parish; the largest grant being one thousand and eighty acres to Mr. Richard Dummer; while others received tracts varying in extent from six hundred and thirty, which was the next largest, down to the four acres for a house lot and right of pasturage, which was given for the use of the poorest settler; while the rich not unfrequently added to their estates by purchase.

On the lower green was placed the first meeting-house, in which met the first church of Newbury,* with their first pastor, the Rev. Thomas Parker,† who continued with them in that relation for more than a quarter of a century; and connected with him as assistant and teacher to the settlement, was Mr. James Noyes, his nephew.‡

* Dr. Popkin's Sermon.

† See Appendix to Period I.

‡ See Appendix to Period I.

It is impossible to understand the state of early Newbury, without a correct appreciation of the position assumed, and influence exerted by this "antient divine." The practical union which existed between these church organizations and the civil power of the province,* involves the history of New England towns inextricably with that of the dominant church, and neither can be unravelled without the light of the other. Scarcely had the town of Newbury assumed shape and order, ere a difference of opinion arose between the pastor and his people, upon some points of church government, which afterwards broke out into open complaint and opposition, creating contentions and dissensions, with brief intervals of truce only, for more than twenty-five years, involving the parish as well as the church; injuriously affecting the organization of the military company;† calling for the interference of the General Court, and attracting the attention, and exciting the interest of all the churches in the province; giving tone to the entire population for nearly two generations; nor can its effects be said to have entirely ceased, down to the present time.

We may as well here explain, that the mooted point between pastor and people, was in regard to *where* lay the governing power of the church. The pastor claimed that it lay in him; the church, or rather the dissentient party in the church, claimed that it lay in them; and despite the adjudication of the General Court, whose aid was several times sought—the advice of ecclesiastical councils, and continual endeavors to settle or compromise the difficulties, this desirable object was not attained in the lifetime of the minister. Death only could heal the divisions which had grown and rankled for a quarter of a century.

With this brief explanation of the state of ecclesiastical affairs, the reader will more clearly perceive the cause of many of the corporate, as well as unofficial acts of the parish, and their subsequent attempts to control and restrain the growth of new religious interests. One of the first orders of the town of Newbury, was that no person should be admitted as a resident, without the consent and approba-

* At this time no one could be chosen to any civil or military office who was not a member of the church.—*Colony Records*, vol. 1.

† The nomination of an individual proposed as Serjeant, was rejected on one occasion, the reason being given, that he was "*corrupt as regards the Lord's Supper.*"

tion of the town;* and this on the same principle by which the ruling powers excluded from the soil of Massachusetts, such persons as they deemed inimical to the peace and purity of the colony. For some time, the town met *en masse*, to transact even the most trifling business; but this being found burdensome and troublesome, from the frequency with which they were called together, the town in 1686 chose seven men "to order the affairs of the town." These performed duties similar to those of our modern selectmen, and their successors, subsequently elected, were called by that name.

The selectmen had also some duties to perform which their modern successors would hardly dare assume. By an order of the General Court, they were authorized to examine children, or apprentices, and if they found them ignorant, to admonish their parents or masters, and if no improvement was made, they might, with the consent of two magistrates, or the next County Court, place them in the hands of those who would instruct them better.

Two years after their settlement, the inhabitants of Newbury were called upon to furnish their quota of men to join the forces being raised against the Pequods, (spelled *Pecoits* in the early records,) who were stirring up the Indians throughout New England, to a war of extermination against the English. Eight Newbury men took part in the expedition,† against the principal warrior now left—Sassacus—and pursuing his scattered followers to Fairfield, fought in the concluding battle of the Pequot war, effectually breaking up this fearful alliance of the Indians, and from which may be dated the utter prostration of the power of the Pequods in New England.

Though the Indians in the immediate vicinity of Newbury, were exceedingly reduced in numbers and spirit, before the planting of the first settlement on Parker river, yet our ancestors were by no means exempt from all anxiety on their account. We find at this time, that they contemplated building a fort; and it was their invariable practice to carry their guns to "meeting." The town also passed a special order, that "every man going into the field to work, should take his gun with him;" and one adventurous man

* State paper of Gov. Barnard.

† It is related of these troops, and is quite in accordance with the spirit of the men and times, that they halted on their way to Connecticut, to discuss the question, "whether they were under a Covenant of Grace or Works."

proposing to place his house some little distance from the others, "on the other side of the hill," the town voted that he be warned against such presumption, but that if he persisted, and harm befell him, then "his blood should be on his own head." These precautions were probably not directed against those few Indians living within the limits of old Agawam, but incursions were dreaded from more distant, and less friendly tribes.

In regard to education, Newbury, though not at first maintaining a parish schoolmaster, was better supplied in this respect than many of the new settlements, both Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes acting in this capacity; and ere long the annual election of a schoolmaster, with suitable appropriation for his support, became a regular and prominent item in the business meetings of the town. A portion of the "lands in common," was appropriated for his use; and from the first records, we find constant and particular provision made for the "Latin Scholars."*

But though the education of all the youth was a fundamental principle in the written and unwritten laws of the province, and enlisted the deepest interest of the early emigrants, there is sufficient evidence of a great scarcity of books among the mass of the people. The county records, containing the valuation and settlement of estates, with minute enumerations of items of personal property, bring this fact very clearly out. Many of the clergy had good, even valuable libraries, but the "planters," as the yeomanry were then designated, seem to have been contented with a very limited assortment. For instance, among the items of personal property, we find belonging to an estate valued at £318, "three bokes." What these were, might be matter of interesting speculation, and we should without hesitation have decided that the family Bible was one, had we not previously discovered that *that* venerable relic was separately disposed of by will. In another account of personal property amounting to nearly £300, we find "bokes 14 s." and as in the next line there is an item, "a boy, £10, 5 s.†" we must conclude that labor

* The town was, nevertheless, fined by the General Court, for not having a "Latin School."

† This might be a boy who had been hired out by the "Company," for a term of years, or perhaps sentenced as a slave by the General Court, for some criminal act; no uncommon thing at this period. See vols. 1 and 2 of Records Mass. Bay.

was honored quite as much as lay literature among the planters. The cost of books while they had to be imported from Europe, must for many years have precluded the people from indulging extensively in this luxury; which indeed could not be expected to enter largely into their expenditures, while so many articles of prime necessity to security of life and bodily comfort, were still wanting.

Up to 1638, Newbury contained no visible means of correcting offenders against the law. In this year, Mr. Edward Rawson was appointed to "judge small causes in Newbury:" this included all matters of less value than forty shillings. But the General Court, it appears, was not satisfied to trust to this, and to Newbury was given a limited time to provide a pair of stocks, in default of which, to be fined five pounds. They were also fined six shillings eight pence, and "enjoined to repair their defects" [in the roads] before September.

About this time, settlements were begun on the north of the Merrimac, at "Salsberry," [originally called Colchister,] and beyond, at what is now Hampton,* and within another year, a ferry was established at Carr's Island, (in the neighborhood of the ship-yard now occupied by Mr. Jackman,) which shows that the communication between these later settlements, and those on the southern bank of the river, must have been frequent and considerable. The population of Newbury was now tending to the "water-side,"—that portion of the town now included in Newburyport.

Until 1642, the people had been almost exclusively engaged in husbandry; the most of their property consisting of land, cattle, goats and sheep. Almost every family had a flock of goats; and from the quantity of land laid out as "ox-commons," "sheep-walks," and pasturage for all the common kinds of live stock which required grass, their number must have been very great. But a resolve having passed the House of Commons, with fair prospect of being made a permanent measure by Parliament, exempting the exports and imports of New England from taxation, an impulse was given to the mercantile spirit, which produced not only an increased emigration of the class of traders from England, but induced the wealthier and

* Records of Norfolk Co.

more enterprising, already here, to turn their attention to commerce. Several English merchants came to Newbury, whom we find afterwards engaged by the water-side, laying the foundation of that extensive shipping interest, which subsequently placed Newburyport among the principal importing towns of New England. Fishing in the Merrimac was now a regular business, notwithstanding the "sandy island which lyeth at the mouth."

Newbury had also grown in another direction, toward the west; and the first parish was fast losing her original prestige of pre-eminence, by the continual removal of the people farther north and west,—a "sore distance from the meeting-house"—which said meeting-house figures as conspicuously in the history of Newbury, as the Constitution in the political speeches of young patriots.

Plum Island was extensively used for many years as a winter resort for cattle; and from the value which the early settlers seemed to place upon it, we should infer that it was somewhat more prolific of herbage than we find it at the present day; for, in a petition to the General Court, the people of Newbury pray that Plum Island may be granted "to their sole use," (and to the exclusion of Rowly and Ipswich,) because that "in right it belongs to us," and also "to relieve our pinching necessities, without which, we see no way to continue or subsist." Should any see fit thus to petition *now*, we should think they hardly bid fair to "subsist" *with it*. The Court soon after divided the Island between the three towns (Oct. 17th, 1649).

Although freedom was the thought in the heart of every emigrant, and "liberty" was ever in the speech of the first settlers of Massachusetts, we, who are sometimes called their "degenerate descendants," can scarcely conceive how our forefathers submitted to the continual pressure of authority over the daily habits, and even speech of the people. The mode of wearing the hair, as it would seem a matter which involved no question of morality, or good policy, but one which might safely be left to the taste or judgment of the individual, was then made matter of serious import, both by the civil rulers, and the still more potent condemnation of the clergy. A testimony signed by Governor Endicott and seven or eight of his Council, was published against wearing long hair, "after the manner

of ruffians, and barbarous Indians, and contrary to God's word," and by which paper, "they did manifest their dislike and detestation of the wearing of long hair, as a thing uncivil." The paper concludes with an admonition to the elders "to see to it, that the members of the churches be not defiled therewith." The Rev., John Elliot, the "apostle to the Indians," also declared that the wearing of long hair was "an offence to godly Christians," and that all who followed the custom "walked offensively." When it is remembered that a minister then possessed a degree of influence over the feelings of the people unparalleled by any class of men in the present day, such condemnation of the practice was equivalent to an authoritative order to desist. The origin of this prejudice of the Puritans against long hair, may be traced to the contest between the Cavaliers and Roundheads; though they professed to found their opposition to it on the word of revelation, yet it is plain, that when the wearing of short hair by men became, as it did in England, in the time of Charles the First, and the Protectorate, the symbol of a party, — when the Cavaliers, who were also Papists, or favorable to that party, nourished their flowing locks with undisguised satisfaction and pride, and the reformers of the day universally adopted the opposite extreme, cutting their hair short, and of an equal length all round, until they had earned the appellation of "Roundheads," which expressed not only Protestantism, but designated, also, the straitest sect of that division of Christendom, — it is not surprising that their descendants, who had been taught to look upon long and elaborately dressed hair as a memento of the Stuarts, should hasten to discourage the introduction of such vanities in this western retreat, where they had hoped no "papistical ways" would be tolerated.

But not only was the mode of dressing the hair subjected to the ordeal of judicial and ecclesiastical remonstrance, but the cost and fashion of apparel fell also under the keen and searching eyes of our worthy elders and magistrates of the olden time. A law was passed at the General Court forbidding the use of lace upon any garment, except "binding or small edging lace,"* which might be used on garments, or linen; graciously permitting people, however, to "wear out their old garments," if ever so fine; and adding go the grievance of interference in matters of such purely personal

* Mass. Records, vol. 1.

concern, invidious distinctions, by which persons owning a certain amount of property were permitted to indulge in these, to others, forbidden luxuries. This is the worst feature in these sumptuary laws, and the least in accordance with republican feeling, as it tended powerfully to keep up and create castes, which, odious anywhere, is more particularly injurious in small communities, where, of all the members personally known to each other, some were selected out, by judicial discrimination, for the reception of privileges; as, for instance, where the Court expressed "its utter detestation that men of *mean callings* and condition should take upon them the garb of gentlemen," or that women of the same rank should wear silk or tiffany hoods, which, though allowable in persons of great estate, they "judge intolerable in persons of such like condition." A little later, we find that three inhabitants of Newbury, "were each presented for wearing a silk hood and scarf," but were discharged on proving that their husbands were worth two hundred pounds. But one Joseph Swett's wife was fined ten shillings for the same offence. Then, too, a continual surveillance was kept up on the conduct of persons in their domestic affairs, and a degree of interference was customary, which many now would "judge intolerable." Thus Aquilla Chase* and his wife "were presented for gathering pease on the Sabbath day." A due censorship of the tongue was also observed. A seafaring man, on approaching in his ship, having noticed that the flag displayed was destitute of a cross, "spake to some on board the ship that we had not the king's colors, but were all traitors and rebels;" for which indiscreet remark, he was arrested and committed to prison; but was finally discharged, on his signing a written confession that the expression had no foundation in truth, but proceeded only from "the rashness and distemper

* The descendants of the Chase family were some eight years ago thrown into a *qui vive* by the report that an immense fortune was left them by some wealthy branch of the family in England. In January, 1846, six hundred of them assembled from all parts of the country, at Newbury Town House, on invitation of Joshua Coffin, Esq., where a collection was taken up among them to defray the expenses of prosecuting the investigation of the claim; and a committee of five was appointed to carry out such measures as they might deem expedient, to secure the money to the American heirs. The money has not yet come!

of his own brain.”* Like all the people of that age around them, the characters of our ancestors partook of that inconsistency which ever exists in transition periods, when the thought is before the habit, and the shackles of past prejudices unlink but slowly, to admit the new forms which must follow, but do not always accompany the advance of mind.

But of all the arrangements for maintaining a rigid surveillance over the habits of the people, perhaps none was so effectual, and certainly none would be considered more offensive and oppressive in these days, than the appointment of “tithingmen,” a species of guardianship to which our ancestors long submitted without murmuring; not, we believe, because insensible to the value of personal liberty, but regarding it as necessary to the general well-being of the State, the due preservation of morals, and the prevention of heresies and religious eccentricities, tinctured, perhaps, with the feeling that the supervisory power thus submitted to, was attainable by themselves, and that those who one year admonished or rebuked them, might the next be under the yoke of *their* rule.

The “tithingmen” were persons appointed by the selectmen to have a general inspection and oversight over a limited number of families, usually ten. It was their especial duty to see that all the members of these designated families attended public worship regularly, and to mark otherwise all violations of the Sabbath. In the year 1679, fourteen of these tithingmen were appointed in Newbury,† which would show the number of families at that time to be one hundred and forty; and reckoning each family to contain five persons, (and it would probably be more,) it would give a total population of seven hundred, or over. This estimation is probably not far from correct, as we find, by a list of the persons who took the oath of allegiance, (being all males over sixteen years of age,) that there were two hundred and thirty-six thus enrolled in the town of Newbury in 1678.

The duties of tithingmen were gradually contracted to narrower and narrower limits, until their only duty was to keep order among the boys. Mr. Lewis says, in his history, that in the early times in Lynn, the “tithingmen had a knob at one end of their long white wands, and a fox’s tail at the other; when, if they perceived any of

* Colony Records.

† Newbury Records, p. 295.

the men asleep in meeting, they would gently rap them on the head with the knob ; but if any of the ladies were caught napping, they drew the fox's tail lightly over their face." Their usual insignia of office was a long white wand.

In 1643, the province of Massachusetts was first divided into counties ; but as the jurisdiction of the Court was then presumed to include what is now the State of New Hampshire, there was one county laid out, then called Norfolk,* which included Portsmouth, Dover, and other towns now in that State. Essex County contained "Salem, Lynn, Enon, (now Wenham,) Ipswich, Rowly, Newberri, Gloucester, and Cochawick" (now Andover) ; and about this time the inhabitants of Newbury had become so scattered that a new division of land was made three or four miles north of the old meeting house, which was called the "laying out of the new town," the southern boundary of which was Parker street, in Newbury. Mr. Coffin says, "the exact limits of the new town cannot now be ascertained ; but it extended farther north and south than Newburyport now [1845] does.

This "new town" we may consider as the date of Newburyport, as a *separate interest* from Newbury, though the formal separation did not take place till one hundred and twenty years afterwards. But from this time we find the two sections arrayed in opposition to each other, mainly because their interests *being* different, were not so recognized, but the first parish long attempted to exercise a control over those who had removed from the original precincts, though quite inadequate to furnish them with the benefits which such supremacy implied. The first serious trouble arose about the meeting-house ; some were for having the old one removed to a position which would better accommodate those who had located farther north and west, while others desired to build a new house, and maintain their own minister at their own charge. The party in

* After New Hampshire was relieved from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, the latter was still determined to have a Norfolk County within her borders, and very absurdly located it in the *southern* part of the State ; the name Norfolk being derived from a northern county in England, and meaning originally "North folk," in contradistinction to the "South folk," who likewise manufactured Suffolk out of their location.—*Records of Norfolk County.*

favor of removing the house obtained the order that it should be transferred from the lower green nearly to its present site, "that the people who had formed the new town might be encouraged to go on and improve their lands." But to prevent any change, part of the inhabitants of the "ould town" petitioned the General Court to interfere and prevent the removal. The "new town" after a little while prevailed, and a new house was built.

Although it might naturally be supposed that a people so deeply imbued with the religious sentiment, and at the same time so widely scattered from each other, — their dwellings, as in Newbury, being in many instances six or seven miles distant from each other,* — would incline to the practice of extempore religious meetings, and preaching, if it could be had. We find in reality, that no practice was more systematically resisted by those in authority, than any departure from the established mode of worship, nor any innovation more promptly punished, than that of unlicensed preaching. "Wanton Gospellers" were as certain of a seat in the stocks, or some equally fashionable, condign punishment, as the thief or any other "contemners of ye law." A positive order of the General Court forbade any person exhorting the people on the Sabbath, except a regularly ordained minister; and a native of Newbury having expressed his opinion that this law was inconsistent "with those principles of civil and religious freedom on which Massachusetts was founded," he was disfranchised, and fined twenty marks, for "defaming ye General Court."

This case excited the jealous sympathy of some in the town, who petitioned for the remission of the sentence, whereupon "eight of the Newbury men" were bound over in a bond of ten pounds, for their future good behavior, for having signed the petition, — a more arbitrary sentence than that which they prayed against.

The same severity obtained against holding communications with those suspected of heresy, most of the virulence being at this time directed against the Quakers. An inhabitant of Salisbury, (who had removed from Newbury) — Thomas Macy, whose adventures have been so graphically described in Whittier's ballad on the

* At the time Newbury was settled, a general law of the province forbade any one to build a house "more than half a mile from ye meeting-house." It was found necessary to repeal this.

"Settlement of Nantucket," was prosecuted and fined for "entertaining Quakers," though he affirmed "that they stayed not above three quarters of an hour in the house, and that he had no conversation with them, being ill in bed, but thinking they might be Quakers, he desired them to pass on as soon as the violence of the rain had ceased." But for this act of humanity in sheltering three wayfarers from the storm, he could obtain no abatement of his sentence from the Court. These same Quakers were afterwards arrested and hung in Boston.

But though our ancestors had many of the prejudices of the age, they had, too, its virtues. Regarding a religious education as the proper foundation "wherein the grace of God might be grafted, to his glory," the inhabitants of Newbury were ever ready to assist in contributions to Harvard College, and in the maintenance of other institutions of learning, as they multiplied in the country. The first graduate of Harvard was a native of Newbury, Benjamin Woodbridge.

The first intimation we have of a wharf or dock being built, on the present site of Newburyport, is a grant of the town* to Captain Paul White, of half an acre of land (in 1655,) near where the Market House now stands, for the purpose, and on condition that he build a dock and warehouse there. But an independent trader had been before him; one Watts had built a cellar in the vicinity, some years before, and he may possibly have been one of those "Scottish or Irish gentlemen" to whom the General Court, seventeen years before, gave liberty to "set down any where upon Merrimack," or he may have been one of the assigns of John Winthrop, Jr., who had liberty to set up his "trucking house" the year before the above liberal grant was made. At any rate, "Watts his sellar" was referred to as a well-known site. His occupation was probably fishing or trading for fish, which was stored in the aforesaid "sellar;" and which he had occupied long before there was any considerable tendency of the population to the water-side.

That there had been considerable fishing in the Merrimac† before this time, is certain; and some little traffic was carried on by

* Newbury Records, p. 121.

† In early times, before the river was enchained, and turned into the service of our manufacturers, it abounded with fish — sturgeon, salmon, shad, &c.

small vessels; but such exchanges of produce, thus made, were obliged to be conveyed to and from the vessel in small boats, except at full tide, when some of the smaller craft could unlade at a favorable point on the banks of the river. A brisk trade was now springing up with some of the West India Islands; sugars began to be imported directly from them; while New England received from them also tobacco, cotton, indigo, &c. Very little of this was paid for in money, but dried and pickled fish, timber, and beef, were exchanged for these imports. This change in the nature of trade, and the larger vessels and cargoes which might be expected to seek a market here, probably suggested to Captain White, who must have experienced the difficulty of landing goods on the Merrimac, the increasing necessity of a wharf. It was built at the foot of Fish street (now State) in 1656.

At this time there was no tavern in Newbury, but the town being liable to a fine for not sustaining one, an "ordinary" was soon after opened to the traveller, at the head of Marlborough street.

While the town was increasing in population and wealth, and new avenues of trade were being opened, the inhabitants of the "old town" were mainly absorbed in ecclesiastical troubles, arising from the difference before referred to between the people and their minister. In 1664 the dissatisfaction of the people was expressed by a reduction of their pastor's salary; but this was again increased the succeeding year, and no subsequent attempt was ever made to bring him to terms by cutting off his supplies; the opposing party contenting themselves thereafter with petitioning the General Court, seeking the aid of ecclesiastical councils, and also, on some occasions, exercising the equivocal right of admonishing, and finally, by vote, suspending him from the exercise of his clerical prerogatives. They did this on the ground that they were a majority of the church, and were therefore *the church itself*; yet throughout this whole controversy, the pastor manfully maintained his position, and the people their esteem and respect for him; even the vote whereby he was suspended by his mutinous flock, invited him to preach to them, as a "gifted brother," if he pleased.* It shows that there must have been much good in both parties; and though the record of their

* Dr. Popkin.

public acts would lead to the conclusion that they were actuated by a spirit of unmitigated wilfulness, there must have been good sterling qualities in each, which commended them to their opponents, or this retention of kindly feeling towards each other would have been impossible. The history of the "troubles at ye church in Neuberri," is standing evidence how the best of men may be misled into acts of tyranny, as well as unjustifiable usurpation, all the while conscientiously believing that they are only contending for the truth, for the truth's sake. But in this state of inquietude, the process of "seating the meeting-house"* was one which occasioned some little confusion and irritation; there were originally no pews built, but only open seats, which it was soon found necessary to assign to certain persons, on account of "divers complaints of confusions in ye meeting-house," on account of persons "crowding into seats already full." It was therefore ordered, that a list of the names of all attending the meeting should be drawn, men and women, and their seats assigned them by the selectmen, which process was called "seating the meeting-house." Afterwards a pew was built for the minister's wife, and permission given to some young ladies to have a pew built for themselves. This being looked upon as a piece of insupportable pride, some young men broke into the meeting-house one night, broke the chairs in the pew and committed other injuries, the perpetrators of which outrage being afterwards discovered, were duly punished. The children usually sat on long benches "adown the ile," and tithingmen were employed to preserve order among the boys, and see that they gave "due attention," to the long, two-hour sermons. The architecture must in the first instance have been decidedly primitive, as it was made one of the duties of the individual who had the care of the meeting-house, not only "to have the floor swept, and the day after to winge down the seats," but in case any of the panes of glass became loosened, to nail them in again.† The art of the glazier must have been held at a discount. The minister's salary was usually paid in produce.

The export of pickled sturgeon had become in 1674 a regular and profitable branch of trade in Newbury; some was transported overland to Boston, and some found its way out of the country by the small vessels engaged also in fishing on the Merrimac. It was

* Dr. Popkin.

† Coffin.

frequently exchanged for West India rum and molasses; a keg of sturgeon was worth from ten to twelve shillings, and one Daniel Pierce is recorded to have given "fifteen kegs of sturgeon for a small cask of rum, and a cask of molasses." But there were monopolists in those days, as in the present, for a certain William Thomas petitions the General Court that he may be "licensed to boyle and sell sturgeon for the counties of Essex and Norfolk, being aged and incapable of any other way of subsistence," but was "forestalled and circumvented by others, who by hooke or crooke, for strong liquors, or otherwise, procure the fish from the Indians employed to catch them, by the petitioner." Notwithstanding a long array of qualifications for the business, which are enumerated in the petition, and the intimation that he alone could put up sturgeon to the credit of the country, the waters of Essex and Norfolk were left free to other adventurers.

The alarm excited throughout New England by the breaking out of King Philip's war, exceeded that produced by any preceding combination of the Indian tribes. An army of a thousand men was at once placed under the command of Governor Winslow, and requisitions were made on all parts of the country, for men to withstand this formidable alliance. With inconsiderable exceptions, New England had been delivered from the terror of the hatchet and the tomahawk, since the suppression of the Pequods. But this new and powerful combination awoke not only the fears, but roused into activity all the energies of rulers and people, and put them on devising means of defence. This part of the country was considered peculiarly exposed; and the most prompt and energetic measures were proposed by the General Court for its protection. Many of the towns had petitioned for aid, and in consequence of their representations, it was seriously proposed to build a wall, eight feet high, to extend the whole distance from the Charles river to Concord river, for the protection of Essex and Middlesex counties; that thus the people might be securely "environed from the rage and fury of the enemy." The people of Newbury, however, did not acquiesce in this project, but forwarded a representation to the Council, in which, after stating that they had duly considered the proposed plan of fortifying the Merrimac, "think it not feasible," nor calculated

to effect the desired object; and suggest instead, a *living wall*, consisting of a company of men who might "range to and fro." They however ordered several houses to be garrisoned, and took all reasonable precautionary measures to guard against a surprise.

From August 5th, 1675, to January 2d, 1676, sixty-seven men from Newbury were drawn for the war, with forty-six horses and forty days' provisions, — a large proportion for the number and means of the town. Of the men taken from Newbury, three were killed at the "battle of the fort,"* in Rhode Island, and a fourth received wounds of which he died shortly after his return home. The place where this famous battle was fought, was an elevated piece of ground, of three or four acres, on which was placed the fort; the level land below being a hideous swamp some seven miles from Narragansett. Five hundred wigwams were destroyed with the fort, which was finally reduced by setting it on fire.

Scarcely had the excitement consequent upon the war with Philip, been brought to a close by the death of that chieftain and the capture of Annawon, than the town of Newbury was all astir with a new trouble. An enemy not less fatal, and more insidious, had entered unperceived, — being in his nature invisible, — and while the General Court sought to build up walls of stone to keep out the wild men of the forest, and our good forefathers depended on their strong arms and trusty muskets to defend their homes and little ones from danger, the unsuspected foe had entered, and fairly made a lodgment in the town.

Perhaps it was from being so far from the "meeting-house," that Satan ventured to make his first demonstrations palpable in the house and person of Goody Morse. The reverend pastor who had led the little church of Newbury from England, after a series of tribulations which would have exhausted the faith and patience of ordinary mortals, had gone to his rest, and no longer watched with jealous care over the scattered members of his earthly flock. "The blessed light of Newberry," (Rev. James Noyes,) had long been extinguished; while the colleague of the "antient divine" had not yet attained to an order of sanctity comparable to his predecessors. What an opportunity, then, during this spiritual breach in the primitive pastorate, for the exercise of Satan's favorite devices!

* Church's Hist. of the French and English Wars.

In a low wooden house which stood over against the "frog pond," and on the highway, adown which an aged couple might sometimes be seen riding, (the dame behind her husband on a pillion,) to the distant meeting-house, and which whilom was occupied by one Goodman Morse and his wife Elizabeth, strange things began to take place, for which no visible cause could be assigned; and ere long, the dreadful thought began to be entertained, and whispered among the neighbors, that the old house was "bewitched." We can talk calmly of these things now, for they mean little or nothing to our ears; the subject inspires no supernatural dread, and no visions of jails and hangman's ropes flit before our eyes when we talk of "being bewitched." But when old Goody Morse and her faithful spouse sat beneath the old elm trees that once sheltered her ill-fated door from the summer sun, or when beside the open window the broad frills of her cap were seen, and the noise of her spinning wheel attracted the eyes and ears of the passers-by, it was indeed a fearful thing that they whispered to one another,— "Goody Morse is bewitched."

How this terrible suspicion first fell upon the unfortunate woman, who more than a century and a half ago occupied the old house, which is now replaced by a neat block of modern buildings, on the corner of High and Market streets, we probably shall never know; unless a certain young rogue, a grandson of hers, has left in some unsearched corner, a written confession, which at some future time shall be brought to light; but wanting this, we must make use of such information as the Court, and other records of the time afford.

The first official information that we find relating to this first and only case of legally recognized witchcraft, in what is now Newburyport, is a complaint entered against one Caleb Powell, "for suspicion of working with ye devil, to ye molesting of William Morse and his family." It appears that this Powell had *his* suspicions that the wonderful things which were said to have taken place in the "Morse house," were partially, if not wholly produced by the agency of a young lad in the family, William Morse's grandson. For the purpose of verifying his suspicions, he stated that if he could have the said lad with him, and another person, whom he named, he thought he could ascertain the cause of their many and unaccountable annoyances;— meaning probably to show that the boy, being

absent, the fiendish tricks ceased. But in his zeal for his friends, he well nigh found his own neck in the noose. On his own confession of being thus able to solve the mystery of the assaults upon the peace of Goodman Morse, he was arrested for having dealings in the "black art," and was ordered to find bail in the sum of £20, or stand committed for the same, William Morse coming under an obligation to prosecute the complaint against Powell at the next term of the County Court, which was held at Ipswich.

The testimony against Powell is about as clear as much of that presented in the succeeding "witch cases" that subsequently disfigured the early records of Massachusetts.* One John Badger testified "that Caleb Powell said, 'that by astrologie and (he thought) by astronomie too, that he could find out whether there were diabolical means used about Morse's trouble.'" A brother of William Morse declared on oath, "that being at his brother's house, a piece of brick came down the chimney, — that he took it in his hand, but that in a little time it was gone from him, he could not tell how, but quickly after the same piece of brick came down the chimney again; and presently, a hammer, which he had seen lying on the floor but a few minutes before, came down the chimney too; and then a piece of wood a foot long," &c. But the chief witnesses were William Morse and his wife. They testified, "that one Thursday night, being in bed, they heard a great noise upon the roof, with sticks and stones, as if thrown against the house with great violence; but on getting up they found nobody, but on lying down again, the same noises were repeated. * * * The next day, an awl in the window was taken away, he knew not how, and came down the chimney; which on seeing he put into the cupboard, but which mysteriously left its place, and again descended the chimney;" this was repeated several times, and then a basket followed the same route. The sagacious man immediately placed a brick in the basket,

* The witch cases of Massachusetts have been bruited abroad, as though no other civilized society had ever been chargeable with the same folly. An order of the General Court, passed in May, 1648, will show whose lead the Massachusetts colonists followed in this matter. It is as follows: "The Court desire the course to be taken here *which hath been taken in England*, for discovery of witches, by watching them a certain time. It is ordered that the best and surest way may forthwith be put in practice, to begin this night if it may be, being the 18th of the 3d month."—*Records of the Gov. and Com. of ye Mass. Bay.*

to prevent its again violating the laws of gravitation by getting up to the top of the chimney, "he knew not how," but all was of no avail; in a little while basket and brick disappeared, and made the favorite witch's entrance to the room, through the fireplace, from the chimney. The number of missiles that descended in this unseemly manner was unaccountable. "Several nights," we copy from the testimony, "a large hog was found in the house, though the door had been locked on retiring; the cattle in the barn were untied, and the boy being sent out to see what was the matter, a large frame of some kind fell down on him, and the deponents going out to help him, when they came in, they found a cotton wheel turned with the legs upward, and many things set upon it, and the pots hanging over the fire, were dashing one against another, so that they were obliged to be taken down." But these were trifles to what followed.

Next, an andiron danced up and down, and finally into a pot over the fire, and then the pot danced on to the table, voluntarily turning over, and spilling the contents; then a tub turned over; and anon, a tub of bread followed suit, came down from a shelf and turned a somerset. Goody Morse trying to make her bed, "the clothes did fly off many times, of themselves," — at the same time a chest opened and shut of its own accord, and the doors flew together. But not only while these afflicted ones were engaged in secular affairs, did the evil spirits assault them; William Morse says, "I being at prayer, my head being covered with a cloth, a chair did often times bow to me, and then strike me on the side," and his wife coming out of another room, a wedge of iron was thrown at her, "and a stone which hurt her much," and a shoe came down the chimney and struck him a blow on the head. The concluding part of this deposition, — the substance of which we have given, — throws some light on the cause, though it does not appear to have directed the suspicions of those most concerned to the right source, though William Morse says, farther on, "a mate of a ship coming often to me, said he was much grieved for me, and that if I would let him have the boy, but for one day, he would warrant me no more trouble, * * * and the boy was with him until night, and I had not any trouble since."

But with the return of the boy returned the trouble. Some friends being in the house, "the earth in the chimney corner moved, and scattered on them," and "*somewhat* hit William Morse a great blow, but it was so swift that they could not tell what it was." Another of the company was hit with an iron ladle; and a Mr. Richardson testified that "a board flew against his chair, and he heard a noise in another room, which he supposed *in all reason* to be diabolical!" There were frequent "noises in another room," and outside of the house; sometimes it was "very dreadful." Spoons were thrown off the table, the table itself thrown down. "Iakhorne hid from me, and the pen quite gone, spectacles thrown into the fire; struck a great blow in the poll; the cat thrown at my wife," and so on and so forth. The old man undertaking to write down these marvellous things, before he could dry the writing, a hat was drawn against the paper, but holding it fast, (which showed some courage under the circumstances,) but part of it was blotted. This writing was intended to be preserved, and the good people bethought them to lay it in the Bible over night, lest it should be spirited away, and indeed for one night it remained unmolested, but the next it disappeared from between the sacred leaves, and was afterwards found in a box. William Morse adds, apparently with the greatest sincerity, "do what I could, I could hardly keep my paper while writing this relation, and this morning I was forced to forbear, so many things constantly thrown at me."

How this bore against Caleb Powell, we do not very clearly see, but a choice, and truly demonstrative bit of testimony, was produced at the trial in March, (1680), one Sarah Hale* and Joseph Mirick having testified that "Joseph Morse had *often said* in their hearing, that if there were any wizards, Caleb Powell was one!!"

But even this was not so much to the point as one that followed. Mary Tucker, in her evidence, affirmed "that Caleb Powell said that he, 'coming to William Morse's house, and the old man being at prayer, he thought not fit to go in, but looking in at the window he *broke the enchantment*, for he saw the boy play tricks, and among the rest, fling the shoe at the old man's head.'"

* Ipswich Court Record.

The Court could not decide exactly what amount of guilt rested on the said Powell, and determining to mete out as exact justice as they could, they failed to convict him of the charge upon which he was arraigned, "of working by the devil to the molesting of William Morse and his family;" but agreed that there was just enough suspicion against him to oblige him to "*bear his own shame* and the costs of prosecution!!" and with this equivocal acquittal, he was fain to be content.

But the troubles in the Morse house waxed worse and worse, and the people began to cast about to find who else might be the guilty one. It seems never to have entered the minds of the sufferers, to investigate calmly and systematically the cause of these unwonted disturbances, but they placed them at once, and without hesitation, to the credit of supernatural, or rather diabolical workings; and having failed to make a victim of Caleb Powell, another must be found — and who so likely as Goody Morse? — "some one must be the witch!" — and for want of evidence against any one else, the general suspicion was now directed against the poor woman.

The news had already reached Boston, that the invisible powers of darkness were displaying their impish dealings in Newbury. A general belief in the existence of such a crime as witchcraft prevailed, not only among the poor and ignorant, but the learned and the educated, while grave doctors of divinity sanctioned the belief, not only tacitly by withholding all rebuke, but actively by their pens, their preaching, and their presence at the trial of the unfortunate creatures charged with this impossible crime. Is it strange, then, that the unlearned and ignorant should zealously join in the hue and cry which the clergy had sanctioned against "witches?" Suspicion produced almost as fatal effects as what in those days was deemed evidence; the suspected persons were avoided as infected; and thus being left a prey to their own imaginations, half believing the verdict of their neighbors, and scarcely trusting their own senses, every slight unusual circumstance made a deep impression on their overwrought and fear-excited nervous systems; until many were induced in the end to believe themselves guilty of the crime charged upon them, though unconscious of originating or desiring communications with the Prince of the Power of the Air.

In May of the same year in which Caleb Powell was acquitted, Elizabeth Morse was presented by the Grand Jury of Boston, "for that she, not having the fear of God before her eyes, being instigated by the devil, had familiarity with the devil, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity, the laws of God and of this jurisdiction." To this, the prisoner plead "not guilty;" but after a form of trial, the jury brought in a verdict against her, and she was sentenced to be executed, witchcraft being a capital crime.

The evidence on which Goody Morse was condemned, was of the most trifling and absurd character;* much of it consisting of incidents which had happened many years before, and were supposed by the prisoner to have been forgotten, and acknowledged by the witnesses, in some cases, to have been all adjusted to their satisfaction at the time. Of this class of evidence, was the testimony of James Brown, who asserted "that *sixteen years* before, one George Wheeler going out [to sea,] Elizabeth Morse said, 'she knew he would not come in again.'" Yet it was shown that the man had a good voyage and returned safe, and the Morses had no knowledge that any such saying was laid up against them. Another, John Mighill, who *twelve years* before had promised to do some work for the Morses, and not doing it at the appointed time, "judged Goody Morse to be angry," and losing some cattle soon after, thought she had bewitched them. Zachariah Davis, living at Salisbury, had promised to bring Elizabeth some "winges" when he came in town, and forgetting to do so several times in succession, the said Elizabeth told him, "she wondered his memory should be so bad," and then on going home, and into the barn where there were three calves, "one of them fell a *dancing* and roaring, and was in such a condition as was never calf before." On the creature's dam coming home at night, however, these strange symptoms disappeared, but there was no doubt in the mind of the testator, that the calf was bewitched by Elizabeth Morse.

On other occasions it appears the unfortunate woman had visited some sick neighbors, and having expressed a fear that a child then very ill, would die, and its dying, they conceited she had brought about its death. One woman, however, was more explicit,

* Boston Court Records. Book lettered "Witchcraft," pp. 14-19.

having declared some time before the arrest of Elizabeth Morse, that she "saw the imp o' God go into said Morse's house." For this she was prosecuted at the time, and denied having said it, but her testimony was received on the trial, and no doubt aided in the conviction of the prisoner. Much more testimony, quite as conclusive, was introduced, and Goody Morse was remanded to prison to await the day of execution. But she had one friend left; her husband did not desert her, nor did he believe her guilty of the crime charged upon her.

He prepared a petition to the General Court, showing the inconclusive nature of the testimony adduced, and affirming that for himself and wife, "their consciences were clear of the knowledge of any wickedness committed by them, which should cause the devil so to trouble them beyond the common frailties which afflict human nature," and humbly acknowledging the sovereignty of God, who had laid such afflictions on them.

After repeated petitions, the Court granted another hearing of the case, and in the end Elizabeth Morse was reprieved and finally allowed to return home, where after some years she died quietly in her bed, leaving the impression upon those best able, from frequent intercourse with her, to judge, that "her discourse was very Christian," and "resting upon God in Christ for salvation." She uniformly denied the crime with which she had been charged, and only blamed herself for some impatient and passionate speeches, which she had made in prison, "on account of her suffering wrongfully."

And thus passed away the first and only case of witchcraft judicially dealt with in Newbury.

There are, however, people in Newburyport to-day, who remember when a certain Madam Hooper was commonly called and treated as a witch.* This woman came to Newbury about the year 1759-60, and taught school for some time at the lower part of the town; her acquirements were considerable, and she obtained the honorable appellation of "Dame," and afterwards, "Madam" Hooper; her appearance and dress were peculiar, which aided in the impression of her diabolical character. In person she was short and stout,

* The writer has heard more than one person firmly express the opinion that she was a veritable witch.

having strongly marked features, with greenish grey eyes; and, moreover, possessed a perfect set of double teeth, which fact alone, in the minds of the ignorant, invested her with a dubious and hurtful character. She possessed an immense wardrobe when she first came to the town, so that her garments lasted her to the end of a long life, and she never changed the fashion of them; so that with dresses, after an antique model, and a deep cape bonnet peculiar to herself, her form was recognized at a distance, and as generally avoided. The children learned to dread her; especially as many of them saw their parents inclined to propitiate her, for fear of her evil influence. From the knowledge she acquired concerning the neighborhood while she taught school, she was enabled to make many shrewd guesses as to the authors of mischief, and on other subjects, which sometimes startled her auditors by their truth; and from her skill in physiognomy, she was enabled to guess at more; and thus first inspired the suspicion, and afterwards the conviction, that she was a witch. Profiting by this superstition, which her natural sagacity early led her to discover, she learned to throw her remarks into short sibyllic sentences, which aided to keep up the delusion. She visited where she pleased, none being willing to offend her; being often applied to for information, she scarcely ever granted an answer but what was verified in the result, but on many occasions she observed an impenetrable silence, (probably when she had no means of guessing, and did not chose to risk her reputation,) for which she obtained an equal degree of credit among her dupes.

She was for years in the practice of fortune-telling, and her fame in this department was second only to that of "Moll Pitcher" at Lynn; her house being the resort of many from the surrounding country, as well as of the town, who were earnest to learn their destiny from her unhallowed lips. She lived to extreme old age, dying at last in deep poverty and degradation, physical and moral.

Her "familiar" was a black fowl, with its beak cut off square, which gave an impish-human look to the creature, which was also increased by its claws being cut away, leaving only the stumps; on which, however, it managed to walk. A very intelligent lady informed the writer, that when a small child, she had seen Madam Hooper confined for several hours to a chair by some person placing

two knitting needles in the form of a cross before her! It is well known among the witch-wise that "no witch or wizard can pass over a cross." It is evident Madam Hooper missed no opportunity of deepening the infatuation of the people, by carefully *conforming* to all that was *expected* of a "witch."

The usual form of an indictment for witchcraft was as follows :

* "Grand Juries' Bill *vs.* M—— O——
 Province of ye Massachusetts } An Rex ———
 Bay, in N. E. Essex ss. } ———
 Annoq Domini, 1680.

The juries for our Sovereign Lord the King present that ———, in the town of ———, in the county of ———, in the town aforesaid, wickedly, maliciously and feloniously, on [date given,] a covenant with the Devil did make, and signed the Devil's Book, and took the Devil to be her God, and consented to serve and worship him, and was Baptised by the Devil, and renounced her former Christian Baptism, and promised to be the Devil's both body and soul forever, and to serve him; by which diabolical covenant by her made with the Devil she, the said ———, is become a most detestable witch, against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity, and the laws in that case made and provided.

Billa vera.

—— ———, Foreman.

Ponit se. Non Cul.

Though the principal wealth of Newbury was in their flocks and herds, they were not unmindful of the little commerce that was springing up on the Merrimac; and the General Court having ordered that Boston and Salem only, were to be the lawful ports of entry for the colony, the inhabitants of Newbury forwarded a petition, praying "that some mete person might be appointed to receive the entry of all vessels, and to act and do, according as the law directs in that case." They complained that by being forced to go to Salem, they were subjected to unnecessary delay and expense, &c. Their petition was referred to the next General Court, but Sir Edmund Andros arriving soon after, and changing the whole administration of affairs,* it was probably not acted upon.

* Copied from an original bill against one Mary Osgood.

Another petition, from one portion of the inhabitants of Newbury to the other and major part, met with no more satisfactory fate. This was a petition from the people of the west end of the town, that they might be permitted to "establish the ministrie" among themselves, build a new meeting-house, and of course cease to pay the tax for the support of public worship, to the first parish. This reasonable request was not complied with, and was the source of much contention for years after, and when they presented a similar petition to the General Court, the "old town" drew up a counter petition against it.

Up to this time (1686) matters had gone on pretty smoothly, between the town of Newbury and the general government of the colony; but with the advent of Sir Edmund Andros, a new danger threatened — no less a matter than the appearance of a claimant to the whole of the land lying between Salem river and the Merrimac, of course including the whole of Newburyport. This royal proprietary was Mr. Robert Mason, one of Andros's Council, whose father, Captain John Mason, it will be remembered, had received the grant from the Council of Plymouth. In a letter to Sir Edmund Andros, he says, speaking of the people whom he found settled upon *his* lands: "I hope all things will go easy, so that I may have no occasion of using the severities of the law against my *tenants*." We do not find, however, that his claim was prosecuted with any rigor, or to the distress of the inhabitants, except as the general administration of affairs partook of the tyrannical character of Andros. Some attempt was made towards a new partition of the lands, but as the people were not formally ejected, the old landmarks were not lost, and the downfall of Andros, in 1689, restored to the original proprietors security for their endangered rights.

* A favorite point with Andros was the elevation of the Episcopal Church. To give this body greater influence, he authorized their clergy to perform the ceremony of marriage. Previous to his arrival, this power had resided in the civil magistrates, the General Court sometimes appointing a particular person to perform the ceremony, for parties designated by name. Edward Rawson, Commissioner for Newbury, was the first person authorized to "join persons in marriage" in that town, in virtue of his office. In 1642, Mr. Wm. Bellingham was appointed to "see" and "record" marriages there.

We have to-day, one memorial, and that a very pleasant and convenient one, of the brief reign of Andros over Massachusetts. It was he who first granted to John March (1687) the right to establish a ferry to Salisbury, within the present limits of Newburyport; and which is still maintained, in nearly the same place, with a similar kind of conveyance. His government of the province was, however, the most arbitrary of any recorded in this part of the country. Several persons in Newbury were fined and imprisoned, for having uttered treasonable words against the Governor and Council; and so exasperated were the people against him, that on the first rumor of the abdication of King James, whose tool he was, they seized upon his person and those of his principal advisers, placed them under guard, and restored the old officers of their own choice, who had been thrust out to make room for his favorites, on his first arrival. On hearing of the outbreak in Boston, many went from Newbury, to participate in the general joy at the restoration of the old order of things, while but one of them reached the metropolis in time to aid in the disposition and seizure of Andros. This was Samuel Bartlett, who, it is said, "rode with such haste, his sword trailing on the ground, that striking the stones as he rode, *he left a stream of fire behind him the whole way.*" This, if not literally correct, shows the spirit which inspired him, and pervaded the people, who loved to tell, and have so long preserved, the tradition of this Gilpin-like ride of their ancestor.

The same year which witnessed the downfall of Andros, followed as it speedily was by the proclamation of William and Mary, witnessed too the end of that contention between the old-town and west-end people of Newbury, which resulted in the building of a new meeting-house by the latter, on that part of the plains which is now occupied by the Bellville cemetery. It may seem somewhat puerile to the reader of general history, to here find the affairs of meeting-houses and such local items, mixed up with the graver affairs of war and peace, of reigns and dynasties. But the history of New England is unique, and that of her towns cannot be truly given, if ecclesiastical matters are left out. The division of the towns into parishes involved the pecuniary prosperity of the different sections, as every person was obliged to pay a tax for the support of public worship; while, if they maintained a minister

unauthorized, they had a double charge to bear; and so if parishes were multiplied unnecessarily, it impoverished the people, by the *cost of maintaining* these separate organizations.

But the people were not permitted to be wholly absorbed in local affairs. Andros had left upon their hands another Indian war, commonly called the French and Indian war. While Governor, he had undertaken an expedition to the east, against the Indians, at the head of some seven or eight hundred men, and at first, by his energetic measures, overawed and reduced them to subjection; but not content with this, he invaded and robbed the house of Castine, a Frenchman who had married the daughter of an Indian chief, and who had great influence over all the tribes bordering on the Penobscot. Resenting this injury, Castine, by his representations, awoke afresh the war spirit among the braves, and all New England was again on the alert to meet this double foe, for the French and Indians were now firm allies. Commencing to the eastward, the danger soon extended below the Merrimac; again public orders were issued in Newbury, for every man to carry his arms with him to the "meeting-house," to the fields, and wherever he might be exposed, in going to and from his own house.

It was during this war that the Indians attacked the house of Mr. John Brown, at Turkey Hill, the only instance on record of a fatal incursion of the enemy into Newbury. It was in the eighth year of the war (1695). The attack was made in the middle of the afternoon, on the 7th of October; the Indians having waited until all the adult male persons in the family had left the house, when they commenced their cowardly assault by tomahawking a young girl who stood in the doorway. Then, entering the house, they seized and bound all the remaining persons, save one girl, who managed to secrete herself. After plundering the house of everything valuable that they could carry away, they departed with their captives, nine in number, all women and children. The girl who had so successfully concealed herself, immediately made her way through the dense brushwood that then encumbered much of the ground, ceasing not her flight till she reached Newburyport, giving the alarm to all she met. When she reached the town, her clothes were actually torn into ribbons from the haste with which she had fled from the scene of violence, through the rough bushes which

vainly attempted to detain her. Information was immediately sent by a swift messenger to Ipswich, to invoke the assistance of persons there, to aid in intercepting and recapturing the enemy, and restoring their unhappy captives. It was supposed they had taken a north-westerly direction. Captain Stephen Greenleaf, with a party of men, followed up the Merrimac, to prevent their escaping over the river, which it was thought they might attempt to do. He was not mistaken. After dark in the evening, a shot from the Indians, who had concealed themselves in a gully, penetrated Captain Greenleaf's wrist, by which wound he subsequently lost the use of his left hand. After a brief rencounter, the Indians fled. Three escaped by taking to a canoe, and two by the woods. The captives were all recovered and brought back but one, an infant, which the Indians had killed, probably to prevent its cries leading to the detection of their hiding place. Some of the others had been severely wounded, so that they subsequently died from the effects of the injuries received. "The coat which Captain Greenleaf wore in the pursuit is still preserved by his descendants, and was, together with the bullet extracted from the wound, exhibited by Ebenezer Moseley, Esq., on the occasion of the celebration of the Second Centennial Anniversary of the settlement of Newbury, in 1835." The coat was of moose or deer skin.

As the French had been the principal instigators of the war, the Provincial Government determined to attack them in their own possessions; and an expedition was accordingly planned against Canada, the general command of which devolved upon Sir William Phipps. There were at this time but three regiments in Essex County; but one of these joined the expedition, which resulted in the capture of Port Royal, but failed to reduce Quebec.

Notwithstanding the extraneous demands upon the revenue and men of Newbury for the public service, the town was steadily progressing in wealth, population, and enterprise. The whole of the land had been divided up to Artichoke river. It was estimated that there were over five thousand sheep owned in Newbury. The manufacture of boards, shingles, and building materials was carried on; grain and saw mills multiplied. The land on the water side was laid out, and ship-building commenced at the foot of Chandler's lane, (afterwards King, now Federal street). Leather dressing

establishments were put in operation, and an extensive manufacture of lime was carried on. The discovery of suitable stone for this purpose was considered quite an event in the history of the town, and it became necessary for the selectmen to regulate the use of this valuable article.* Education, too, was not neglected. Thirty pounds were paid by the town to a grammar school teacher, in addition to the weekly sums paid by the parents of "Latin scholars," while two or three dames' schools were in being for the particular instruction of girls. Two religious parishes, with their separate ministers, were in existence, regular county courts were held, military companies were enrolled, and the whole aspect of the place gave certain indication of the future importance it was destined to attain. The different castes of society were still strictly maintained. But eight or ten persons were distinguished by the title of *Mr.*, while but one *Esq.* was found in the limits of Newbury, the usual appellation being *Goodman*, except to such as were eminent for wealth or education. Military titles, however, were not so scarce. There were nineteen men bearing the several titles of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, &c. Deacons of course there were, and *their* titles were never omitted.

But while peace thus blessed the labors of the land, the mariner was exposed to peculiar and frightful dangers. Navigation was exceedingly insecure. It was during this period, the last years of the seventeenth century, that the famous pirate, Robert Kidd, and the buccaneers, whom he originally undertook to subdue, infested what was called the "Spanish main," the waters surrounding the West India Islands; but unintimidated by these dangers, as by others which succeeded them, Newbury continued to build and fit out vessels from the Merrimac, creating a trade which was profitable enough to endure the loss of a vessel and cargo now and then, without fatal injury to her merchants.

That usual insignia of civilization, a jail, was one of the latest public edifices erected in Newbury. It was not till some years after

* Before its discovery, lime was made from oyster and other marine shells. On the occasion of a large fire in Boston, and there being a scarcity of lime in the city for the purpose of making mortar to rebuild with, several sloops came up "little river" and laded with this limestone.

the opening of the eighteenth century, that the town thought necessary to build one. With the new century too, came other changes. Many of the streets now included in Newburyport* were successively laid out, new school-houses were hired or built, a new grammar school established at the head of Greenleaf's lane, (afterwards Fish, now State street,) and a new denominational interest, the Episcopalian, formed, under rather singular circumstances.

After the second parish had effected their legal division from the first, and built their meeting-house within what was called the west precincts, on the "plains," (1689,) some of the people whose dwellings lay remote, wished to have the meeting-house removed to Pipe-stave Hill, or another built in that neighborhood; and on its location no compromise could be effected,—the one party being resolved it should remain where it was, and the other being equally determined it should be removed. Those in favor of the "meeting" being at "Pipe-stave," proved the stronger party, and gained also the decision of the General Court in their favor, to whom both parties had appealed. But those of the "plains" were not so to be put down; they resolved to declare themselves Episcopalians,† and thus insure the right to worship in the house which they had built, but were forbidden to use after the decision of the majority of the parish, "that there should be but one meeting-house, and that on the hill."

Having announced to Governor Dudley their intention to adhere to the Church, and having sent to the Bishop of London, to request that he would send them a minister, they received the assurance that they should not be compelled to pay taxes for the support of the worship they had abandoned, and should be permitted to support their own establishment unmolested. After some temporary arrangements for preaching, the Rev. Matthias Plant was settled over them, and officiated in the little building, originally erected for a congregational meeting-house, but which was dedicated under the name of

* These were laid out, not as streets are now, by the town, but by the proprietors of the land, and generally, for their own convenience. Thus we find the streets first laid out generally bore the name of the sole or principal proprietor, as "Greenleaf's" Lane, (now State street;) "Chandler's" Lane, (Federal street;) "Muzzey's" Lane, (Marlborough street;) "Ordway's" Lane, (Summer street,) &c.

† See Sketch of P. E. Church.

"Queen Ann's Chapel." From this germ, grew the Episcopal interest now established in Newburyport.

In the first quarter of this century, was the first attempt made to introduce any variety of tunes in sacred music. Throughout all New England, *five tunes* had served the whole religious community; these were York, Hackney, St. Mary's, Windsor, and Martyr's, but in 1714 the Rev. John Tufts, of Newbury, ventured on the hazardous experiment of publishing a book of psalm tunes, *twenty-eight* in number. This innovation was stoutly resisted by many at the time, who believed that singing by the inspiration of grace was infinitely better than by written notes. Indeed, so suspicious were many of everything which they did not fully understand, that it was unhesitatingly affirmed, "that *fa sola* was but *popery* in disguise." The good people of Newbury, like their cotemporaries through the province, had an unmitigated horror of everything like prelacy. However, reason after a while prevailed, and the twenty-eight tunes were very generally adopted.

But perhaps the most influential domestic changes introduced, were those connected with diet. Up to this time, two articles now deemed necessities of life, were almost unknown in Newbury; neither potatoes nor tea formed part of the ordinary diet of the people. Turnips had supplied the place of the former, and thin gruel, cider, or water, that of the latter. Though not in common use, potatoes were known to the first settlers of this colony, for we find in a list of articles to be shipped for the use of the "Company of the Massachusetts Bay," among other plants, "seed-potatoes" were enumerated. But they were long in finding favor with the people; they were at first planted cautiously, and in small quantities, but finally almost superseded the use of turnips, except that the latter were grown as fodder for cattle. By an item in an account book of Col. Moses Titcomb, we find that in 1747, or about twenty-five years after their general introduction here, they were worth as much per bushel as corn. Tea quickly rose in high estimation, especially among the "women folk," whom it appears were not long in discovering its social and exhilarating virtues; the first "tea-parties" given were conducted on a novel plan, each lady carrying her tea-cup, saucer, and spoon with her, while the husbands bewailed the infatuation which led their wives to expend the "enormous sums

of thirty or forty shillings on tea equipages." If they had only foreseen, in addition to this extravagance, the troubles which tea was destined to bring upon the country, they would scarcely have permitted it to grow into a matter of commercial importance.

In 1725 was built the first meeting-house in what is now the business centre of Newburyport. This was the Rev. John Lowel's,* and stood in Market square. In 1754 this building was struck by lightning, and Benjamin Franklin, who was on a journey to the east at the time, was in the town, and minutely examined the building after the accident, as we learn from a letter of his, dated March, 1755, in which he replies to a person who had inquired of him, "what thickness of wire was necessary to conduct a large quantity of lightning." He says:

"PHILADELPHIA, *March*, 1755.

* * * "In my late journey *I saw* an instance of a very great quantity of lightning conducted by a wire no bigger than a common knitting needle. It was at Newbury, in New England, where the spire of the church steeple, being 70 feet in height above the belfry, was split all to pieces, and thrown about the street in fragments. From the bell down to the clock, placed in the steeple, 20 feet below the bell, there was the small wire above mentioned, which communicated the motion of the clock to the hammer striking the hour on the bell. * * * The clock wire was blown all to smoke, and smutted the church wall, which it passed in a broad black track, and also the ceiling under which it was carried. * * * * *

"B. FRANKLIN."

The town were now discussing the propriety of building a town-house, and an almshouse, but deferred these matters "for a short time," appointing, however, a committee to select a new site for a school-house, and lay out a burying-ground. In accordance with their instructions, the committee laid out the burying-ground back of Frog Pond, and a town-house being shortly after built, part of it was used as a school-room, the third formed parish (first in Newburyport) voting to add thirty pounds to the thirty raised by the town, towards hiring another schoolmaster, and also voting to set

* See Hist. First Church, and Biographical Notice.

their school-house between Fish, (State) and Queen, (Market) streets. The town-house was finally located on High, at the head of Marlborough street; it was completed in 1785, and was occupied for various purposes some forty-five years, when it was sold by the town and passed into private hands.

During portions of the years 1735 and '36 a malignant and fatal disease, called the throat distemper* appeared in Newbury; it extended its ravages through Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and carried off immense numbers of children, whole families being mown down in a few days.† The cause of this dreadful disease was not clearly ascertained, but was attributed by some to the immense number of caterpillars which had infested the country some little time before its appearance, and whose myriad carcasses, dying, had affected the air. Of these caterpillars a cotemporary writer says: "*Many thousand acres* of thick woods had their leaves and twigs of this year's growth entirely eaten up. They cleared off every green thing, so that the trees were as naked as in the depths of winter. They were larger than the common caterpillar. No river or pond could stop them. They would swim like dogs, and travelled in unaccountable armies. Cart and carriage wheels would be dyed green from the numbers they crushed in their progress."

The sickness which followed this visitation commenced by the river-side in Newbury, in September; and by February, eighty-one persons were buried from Chandler's lane, (Federal street) alone. The disease was a virulent throat distemper.

Every year was now adding to the importance of that section of the town emphatically called the "water-side." They had always had wants and interests of their own; they now began to express them loudly and distinctly, and to claim some of the rights and privileges which their location had denied them. As usual, the "meeting-house" was the first and most important difficulty. Though a Congregational Church was located in Market Square, which was by many in the town deemed sufficient for their accommodation, some of the water-side people, wishing to worship in the Episcopal form, "were ill content" to go as far as the plains to

* Parish's Hist.

† J. Pearson's Journal.

Queen Ann's Chapel, and therefore proposed to build a new church nearer the present centre of the town. Joseph Atkins, Esq., and the Rev. Matthias Plant, each agreed to give fifty pounds towards building the new church,— St. Paul's. On the opening of the church, an invitation was extended to Mr. Plant to preach on alternate Sabbaths at St. Paul's; but still wishing to maintain the control of affairs, and retain the power in their own hands, they became involved in contentions with their minister, and finally demanded of him to deliver up the written invitation to preach to them. Probably in virtue of his gift to the church, Mr. Plant felt that he had a claim upon them, and constantly demanded an induction into St. Paul's, which was long denied; but the people finally gave way, and he was legally inducted as their minister, and thus continued till his death; having in 1751 chosen Mr. Edward Bass his assistant. Queen Ann's Chapel was deserted, went to decay, and at last fell to the ground through sheer weakness.

In 1748, a new meeting-house was built on High street, just below Federal, by persons who afterwards formed the first Presbyterian society in Newburyport; and in 1744 the Quakers built a meeting-house on High street (Bellville,) but afterwards removed their place of meeting to the neighborhood of Turkey Hill. Some of their number were buried in a lot of land in the rear of the westerly side of Washington street, between the railroad crossing and Boardman street; this locality, with the immediate vicinage, was formerly called "Quaker field," and in 1785, before Washington street was laid out, Mr. John Tracy manufactured cordage in a rope walk running from the little graveyard towards the river.

Little business of interest was transacted by the town, beyond the erection of a new jail on Federal street; and towards the close of the year, Captain Donahew* signalized himself by taking with a small privateer, a French ship, loaded with three thousand quintals of fish, and also a sloop containing live stock.

The principal subjects which occupied the attention of the people, were war and religion. Proclamation had been made in Boston, early in the summer of 1744, of war by Great Britain against the

* Mem. Col. Moses Titcomb.

French ; and the winter following was one of unparalleled military enthusiasm, excited by the expedition to Louisburg ; and religious devotion inspired by the preaching of Whitfield. The war against the French was not only regarded as the opportunity of renewedly proving the old British prowess over their ancient enemies, but was considered as a crusade against the papists ; and a victory over the French, was a triumph of "the truth" over the "man of sin." Scarcely a dissentient voice against the war was heard in Newbury, and many men from this place assisted in the reduction of that redoubted fortress. Among those who most signalized themselves, belonging to Newbury, was the Rev. Samuel Moody, who attended in the capacity of chaplain, but whose zeal would not permit him to be content with his spiritual weapons, and he therefore carried a hatchet, with which to cut down the images which he expected to find in the Catholic churches ; also* Major Titcomb, who did efficient service in the siege. The last battery erected at the siege of Louisburg, was called "Titcomb's battery," of which he had the charge ; it had five forty-two pounders, and "did as great execution as any." There was also Moses Coffin, who served his country as "drummer and chaplain." (Probably there was a greater demand for chaplains in that than in some subsequent wars, which accounts for their doing double duty.)

As an evidence of the suspicion with which every thing having any similarity to popery was regarded, is the fact, that it was not until the middle of this century, that the Scriptures were commonly read in the Congregational churches on the Sabbath ; as this wholesome practice appeared to our wary ancestors, a dangerous imitation of the Romish practice. The first society in Newburyport led the way in introducing the practice in this vicinity.

In 1748 peace was restored between England and France, which allayed, without satisfying the military spirit of the times, for Louisburg, the scene of so much persevering labor, the trophy so hardly won, was restored to the French. The work of the temporal warriors was in part undone ; the great spiritual combatant of the same period, Whitfield, had left an enduring monument in Newbury. Under his influence, the first Presbyterian church was formed, by

* See Notice under date 1755.

the withdrawal of nineteen persons from the first church, and thirty-eight from the third, calling the Rev. Jonathan Parsons to be their minister.

The spirit of progress which had shown itself among the water-side people, not only in matters of trade, commerce and secular interests generally, but also in the formation of religious societies, varying from the ancient models, had not invaded the more secluded precincts of the second parish, (now in West Newbury,) for we find them disciplining a brother in the church, for the following curious reason: "that from time to time, he asserts with the greatest assurance, that 'all who weare wiggs,' unless they repent of that particular sin before they die, will be damned." Now it seems the pastor himself was guilty of this "particular sin," and the said brother refused communion with the church while they justified the pastor in his wearing an "extravagant superfluous wigg," which in the mind of this brother and many others, "was altogether contrary to truth." And so important a matter has the wearing of wigs and periwigs been adjudged, that some men, eminent for learning and general intelligence, were persuaded that the affliction of the second Indian war, was brought upon the people of New England "as a judgment and testimony of God against the wearing of periwigs."

In 1755 peace was again broken with the French, and the war spirit of our people, which had scarcely slumbered in the interval, was once more fully aroused. The Rev. Mr. Lowell preached a stirring sermon on the subject, in which he expressed his full approval of the war, Colonel Moses Titcomb* and the men enlisted with him,

* Colonel Titcomb was third in descent from William Titcomb, one of the original settlers in Newbury; he was by trade a blacksmith, and a man of gigantic strength. In 1747, by order of Brigadier General Waldo, he was appointed to the command of the troops stationed at Falmouth, (now Portland,) where he remained, with the exception of a few days' absence, from May till October of that year. He was a member of the third church in Newbury, (first in Newburyport,) and the pastor preached an eloquent funeral sermon on the occasion of his death. In the 4th volume of Bancroft's Hist. U. S. p. 210, a drawing is given of the battle ground where he fell. Titcomb's regiment is represented on the right wing of the main army, but a short distance from the shore of the lake.

then expecting to join the expedition to Crown Point, being present. This campaign terminated his active and brave career. He was slain at the battle of Lake George, being shot by an Indian, one of a party who gained the flank of his regiment unperceived. He was buried in the vicinity, but though diligent search has since been made for his grave, all trace of it is lost. The poet, Allen, thus refers to his death :

" There Titcomb fell, and Williams, hapless man !
Two dauntless chiefs who led our thundering van."

The war was popular with all classes in Massachusetts, and when later Niagara was taken, Ticonderoga reduced, and Quebec surrendered to the victorious army of Wolfe, public demonstrations of joy were manifested in Newbury, an ox was roasted, songs were sung, and speeches made, indicative of the gratification of the people at the result of the war ; and on the 29th of October, 1760, a day of thanksgiving was appointed, on account of the complete triumph of the British arms.

The building of a new town-house, which should also be used by the County Court, was a weighty matter of discussion for some years. One difficulty was about raising the money ; but a more serious obstacle arose in regard to its location, each section of the town desiring that it should be placed most convenient to itself. The County, on consideration of its partial occupancy by the Court, agreed to give two hundred pounds towards its erection, but the town did not accept the proposition ; and the " water-side people," without aid from the rest of the town, purchased a large lot of land on the corner of State and Essex streets, and furnished the money to erect the building. It was completed in 1762.

APPENDIX TO PERIOD I.

For a hundred and fifty years after Newbury was settled, *earthquakes* were common phenomena of the valley of the Merrimac,* while several of these extended over a great part of New England. These convulsions of nature appear for the last half century to have diminished in number and violence. An early writer, speaking of the shocks which occurred in the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century, remarks that "some of them were very small; others passingly considerable, while others came with a very grate and dreadful noise."†

The most remarkable of these occurred in 1688, 1727, and 1755. On the first of June, 1688, a town meeting was being held in Newbury at the time of the shock. The record describes it in the following words: "It pleased God to raise a vehement earthquake, which shook the earth and the foundations of the house in a very violent manner, to our great amazement and wonder; wherefore taking notice of so great and strange a hand of God's providence, we were desirous of leaving it on record, to the view of after ages, to the intent that they all might take notice of Almighty God, and fear His name."‡ This was probably the first earthquake experienced by the white settlers in Newbury, occurring, as it did, but three years after the gathering of the little company on Parker river; but they must, in course of time, have become thoroughly seasoned to them. Nearly

* The Merrimac makes its entire course through rocks of the primitive formation. The nearest and only point where rocks of the transition period are found within this geological district, is ten miles south-west of the town, on the turnpike.—See "*Maclure's Geology U. S.*"

† Coffin.

‡ Newbury Records, p. 19.

two hundred shocks of more or less violence are recorded as having occurred in half as many years. That of October 29th, 1727, is described at length by many writers. The Rev. Mr. Gookin, of New Hampshire, says that "at Newbury and other towns on the Merrimac river, the shock was greater than in other parts of Massachusetts, though no buildings were thrown down. Many seamen approaching the coast, supposed their vessels to have struck upon a shoal of loose ballast. The sea roared in an unusual manner, and flashes of light ran along the earth." Hutchinson says, "it commenced about forty minutes after 10. The sky was serene, air calm but sharp, and it came with a most amazing noise, like to the roaring of a chimney when on fire, (as some said,) only beyond comparison greater. Others compared it to the noise of coaches on pavements, and thought that of *ten thousand together* would not have exceeded it. The noise was heard half a minute before the shock began, which continued the space of a minute, till it reached its height, and in one minute and a half more ended."

In the records of Queen Ann's Chapel, kept by Rev. Matthias Plant, we find a full account of the successive commotions of the earth, which followed the first great shock in October. From his description it must have been very severe. Many chimneys were thrown down, stone walls fell, springs destroyed, and others opened. In several places the earth opened, leaving chasms a foot in width. In the words of Mr. Plant, "it was a terrible, sudden, and amazing earthquake. It continued very terrible by frequently bursting and shocking our houses, sometimes breaking out with loud claps six times or oftener in a day until Thursday, and then somewhat abated. On Friday, in the evening, at midnight, and about break of day, and on Saturday, there were three very loud claps; also on the Sabbath and Monday, though much abated in the noise and terror. These claps continued with more or less violence till the 19th of November. On the 17th of December, they were renewed. A new spring was opened in a meadow, and in the lower grounds several loads of white sand were thrown up." One account says of this earthquake,* "it came with a dreadful roreing, as if it was thunder, and then a pounce, like grate guns. * * * It shook down

* Coffin.

briks, from ye abundance of chimnies. Knights and Toppanns [chimneys] fell. All that was about ye house trembled. The first night it broke out in more than ten places in ye town, in ye clay low land, blowing up ye sand. In one place it blew out, as was judged, twenty loads, and when it was cast on coals in ye night, it burned like brimstone." Many persons were so much affrighted at the first shock that they rushed from their houses into the street, and then were in as great fear of being swallowed alive. On the third of January following, the shocks commenced again. On one day successive bursts were said to have continued without cessation for *half an hour*; and succeeding shocks were continued at intervals until the month of July.

That greater earthquake, of 1755, commenced in the early morning of the 18th of November. As described by the annalist, Holmes, "the first motion was like strong pulsations of the earth, which threw the house upwards, and then came a peculiar tremor which lasted half a minute, followed again by a quick vibration and sudden jerks, the whole shock continuing about two minutes. All nature was stirred and affrighted. The brute creatures lowed and ran to the barns for protection. The birds fluttered terrified in the air. Dogs howled at their masters' doors. I walked out about sunrise, and every face looked ghastly. In fine, some of our solid and pious gentlemen had such an awe and gloom spread over their countenances as would have checked the gay airs of the most intrepid." This was the most violent earthquake that has ever been experienced on the Atlantic slope of the North American Continent. In Boston and some other places considerable damage was done.

In tracing the history of these convulsive movements of the earth, we cannot learn that there were any preceding monitions, atmospheric or otherwise, occurring with sufficient regularity to enable us to form any theory in regard to them. They came unannounced, in cold weather and hot, in drought and rain, summer and winter, spring-time and harvest, night and day, at midnight and noon, at sunset and at dawn. Yet it is remarkable that no person was killed, or even seriously injured in Newbury, considering the frequency and severity of these notable earthquakes. The only one which has occurred in this vicinity within the recollection of the writer, was that of November 27, 1852. The meteorological and tidal circum-

stances connected with it were accurately noted by the editor of the Newburyport Herald. "The night was calm and still, with a light breeze to within a short time of the shock from the W. N. W., the ground moist from a rain which had fallen the day previous, the tide nearly at the full. The premonitory noise of an explosive nature, and followed by a roaring as of fire in the chimney, occurred at twenty-five minutes before 12, P. M. The shaking of the earth did not correspond in violence with the loudness and long continuance of the burst and roar," which still conveyed the impression of a fire in the chimney. The shock lasted nearly two minutes. To those in the street it appeared to come from the north and pass off to the south.

Our own recollections of the shock are as follows: First, a very loud report, not like "many grate guns," but like one tremendous large one; then a crushing sound, as if the timbers overhead were suddenly and irresistibly thrust together, and succeeding this, several distinct revibratory motions, as if the house was on rockers and was gently swayed backwards and forwards by the wind. The time from the first explosion to the last motion of the earth, we should judge to be full two minutes.

The conjecture was made at the time of the occurrence, "that possibly there might be some great cavern between the head of tide-water on the Merrimac and the ocean, which fills with subterranean gases, and into which water is occasionally forced, producing the concussion;" this theory receiving additional weight, from the fact that in the earthquakes recorded of late years, it has been found that they generally occurred at high tide, not infrequently after a freshet; but as in the highest tides which have been experienced here, there has been no subterranean commotions connected with them, there must evidently be other concurring circumstances yet unsuggested.

It is worthy of remark, also, that some of the most serious, have followed more terrific convulsions elsewhere. That of 1638 was preceeded by that terrible eruption of Mount Etna, accompanied by an earthquake by which the city of Euphemia, in Calabria, was completely swallowed up and forever lost to the eyes of man.

That of 1727 was the most serious with which we have *not* corresponding accounts from other section of the globe.

That of 1755 was the ever memorable year of the destruction of Lisbon, the annihilation of St. Ubes, &c.

About the time of the last, November, 1852, occurred that of Valparaiso, S. A. Others near in time may be traced out.

It appears probable, therefore, that the *cause* of the more violent is not indigenous to the country, but by some internal link, is connected with the subterranean fires which have their home, and spend their first shock, in more southern latitudes, though why intermediate places have escaped, is matter of curious speculation.

It was not thought necessary to introduce these or other accounts of the various earthquakes occurring in this vicinity, into the civil and social history of the town, as they had no perceptible influence on its character, neither deterring new settlers, nor producing any permanent changes physical or moral, (unless we except the "great awakening," which followed the earthquake of 1727.) We have carefully sought for any indication of vegetation being affected by these subterranean convulsions, but find none.

Though subject to these frightful phenomena, the early settlers of Newbury had few other physical evils to endure, except such as are inseparable to all newly settled countries. Unlike many other portions of New England, they were exposed neither to the constant ravages of the savage nor of wild animals; but once did the Indians invade the township of Newbury, and then with but comparatively trifling loss to what other settlements were called to endure. Of beasts of prey we find no allusion in the early records, except to a *few wolves*. For some years the sheep had to be guarded at night against these; and it was customary for the selectmen to pay a reward for the head of a wolf; sometimes offering rewards to such as would shoot them. These animals appear to have had their haunts principally on Plum Island, but their numbers could never have been large, as from the first, cattle were pastured on the Island without guard, being left all winter to subsist as they might.* We hear, as might be expected, that some died of exposure, and some became so wild that they could not be caught, and were shot; but if the wolves had existed in any considerable numbers, cattle could not have been left there without protection.

Slavery, also, which was for some time an established institution of this State, was so limited, in regard both to time and numbers

in Newbury, as to have had no material influence on the character of the people. There does not appear to have been any particular opposition to the introduction of negroes, or the use of Indian slaves in Newbury. They were not largely imported, because the climate and soil were unfavorable to the existence of such a class of persons. Massachusetts never made as strenuous efforts to *prevent* the introduction of slavery, as did Virginia and Georgia. As late as 1755, Newbury had but fifty slaves, all told, negroes and Indians; and after that period, there is no proof that any new subjects were introduced; as these died off, the "peculiar institution" died out too. Yet one free black was considered undesirable; a negro woman named Juniper, having come to Newbury, (1688,) the selectmen desired her to leave, and finally appealed to the county to rid them of her presence. After the incorporation of Newburyport, some few slaves still remained; one of these, a man named Cæsar Hendrick, brought an action against his master, Richard Greenleaf, for holding him in bondage, and claiming £50 damages. The plaintiff's counsel was John Lowell, Esq.,* of Newburyport, (afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.) The jury awarded him £18 damages, which, with his freedom, was quite an item to begin the world with. The next year, (1774,) a negro girl was advertised for sale, the only notice of the kind we have found; the owner probably thinking that the example of Cæsar might prove contagious, and that he had better get such dubious property off his hands as soon as possible. In 1781 it was decided by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, then sitting in Worcester, that slavery was abolished by the adoption of the State Constitution.

The people of "Ould Newbury" stand somewhat in the relation of civic parents to Newburyport, and undoubtedly exerted some influence on the character of the place, though not so much as might have been expected from their long legal union, because from the very first, the water-side and agricultural districts had different interests, and most pertinaciously defended them. But the connection was quite intimate enough to justify our making special notice of some of the principal personages who have figured most conspicuously in Newbury, old town. But not wishing to extend this por-

* See Biographical Notice.

tion of the work beyond what is absolutely necessary, we must omit particular notice of the Sewalls and Dummer, of Webber the mathematician, who died President of Harvard College, of Eliphalet Pearson, LL. D., who was for many years President of Phillips Academy at Andover, and afterwards Professor at Cambridge; of Christopher Toppan, M. A., a man of varied learning and deep piety, who was for many years pastor of the first church in Newbury; and also, as his tombstone records, "skilled in the practice of physick and surgery;" these, with many others, who shed a permanent or temporary light in Newbury, must in this place give way to the still more influential names of Parker and Noyes, whose influence, coming first and being longest continued, gave character more than any others, to the early good fame of Newbury.

The Rev. THOMAS PARKER, born in 1595 in Wilts,* England, prosecuted his theological studies in Ireland, under the celebrated Doctor Usher. It not being safe for him (as a non-conformist) to return to England, he retired for a while to Holland, where the Puritan refugees from England had already organized a church; but the times becoming more quiet, Mr. Parker returned to England, and preached at Newbury (in England,) until 1684, when he came to Massachusetts, and for a while took up his residence at Agawam, (Ipswich;) but as has been related in the first part of this work, he accompanied the first party of emigrants from that place, who in 1685 came to the banks of the Quascacunquen river, which they named Newbury, as the name of their pastor's settlement in England; and some years later rebaptized the stream by the name of Parker, in honor of the subject of this notice. He was, soon after his settlement here, joined by his nephew, the Rev. James Noyes,† also a man of great theological learning, who had been associated with him in England. These distinguished scholars, by their united fame, were one of the principal causes of the rapid settlement of Newbury. They lived in the same house, pursuing their studies amicably together, and with the utmost diligence; and disinterested biographers have asserted, without hesitation, that at no subsequent time has there been in this country or England, "such profound

* Parish and Morse's Hist. of New England.

† Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes (spelled Noise in the Records,) were made "freemen" at Boston, 3d September, 1684.

oriental scholars." Not only as writers and preachers, did these eminent men diffuse among their parishioners and readers, the results of their research, but they were in the constant practice of superintending the preliminary education of such young men as were destined for Harvard College, which was established just one year after the incorporation of Newbury. They were thus the means of giving the first impulse towards a love of learning in many minds distinguished in the annals of Massachusetts, not a few of whom afterwards figured conspicuously as statesmen, and in the learned professions in this and other states.

Mr. Parker, who was never married, was in the latter years of his life afflicted with blindness, the result of incessant study; but this did not suspend, though it limited his labors. From his familiarity with the Greek and Latin text-books, he could attend to recitations as well as if his sight had been perfect; while his friends and elder pupils systematically read to him, and wrote at his dictation. He wrote much; some of his sermons and other works were published, but he left many more in manuscript, probably from his inability to revise them; they were left in the hands of the Noyes family. Several of these were written in Hebrew, with which and the Arabic he was also familiar. It is told, on good authority, that on being criticised by certain persons, who came to investigate some of his peculiar ecclesiastical opinions, he propounded questions to them, successively in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, to which they replied; when, retreating to the Arabic, he found them unable to follow, and summarily refused to be judged by any but his "peers."

In the valuable library of the Old South Church, Boston, is preserved a work of his, entitled "Visions and Prophecies of Daniel, expounded by Thomas Parker, of Newbury: printed in London, 1644." His great affliction, which none but a devoted student can fully realize, was borne without complaint; and when referred to, he would pleasantly remark, "I expect the restoration of my sight at the resurrection."

In the parish built up by him, there has been a long list of distinguished pastors. Christopher Toppan, D. D., was succeeded by John Tucker, D. D., one of the most acute controversialists of the age, and many of whose works were published; after him came the Rev. Abraham Moor, who ranked high as a scholar,

and then followed one of the most splendid Greek scholars and profound divines of the age, John Snelling Popkin, D. D., afterwards Professor at Harvard.*

Mr. Noyes published much more largely than Mr. Parker. He was considered the most learned man of his time, and among his descendants for many generations, were to be found the most enlightened clergymen of the country. Two of his sons settled in the ministry in Connecticut, and were eminently useful in their day and generation. A descendant of his, the Rev. George Noyes, settled in New York, has translated a portion of the Old Testament in a manner that shows the love of oriental literature has not yet died out of the Noyes family.

*At the celebration in Newburyport, (1835,) of the Second Centennial Anniversary of the settlement of Newbury, in the course of a speech made by Colonel Samuel Sweet, of Boston, the speaker referred to the fact, that during his whole term at the University, all three of the Professors, Webber, Pearson and Tappan, were from Newbury.

PERIOD II.

NEWBURYPORT.

Having now a commodious town-house in their midst, and built by their own unaided efforts, having ministers and parish schools,* forming a separate commercial and trading community, with interests all distinct from the husbandmen of Newbury,—in 1763 the “water-side people” presented a petition to the General Court, to be “set off from Newbury, and incorporated a town by themselves.” Two hundred and six persons signed the petition; the first five names being William Atkins, Daniel Farnham, Michael Dalton, Thomas Woodbridge, and Patrick Tracy. Their real grievances were numerous, and their petition set them forth in glowing colors; for there had grown up a deep-rooted jealousy between these different sections of the town, and mutual suspicions of each other annually widened the breach between them, insomuch that if the “water-side people” proposed any measure in town meeting, it was pretty sure of rejection by the farming population; while plans and motions advocated by the latter, were ever suspected and thrust aside by the former. The impossibility of their continuing to act harmoniously together was obvious. The next year the Court granted the petition of the water-side people, and the town of NEWBURYPORT was duly incorporated by the following Act:

* The records of the first religious society in Newburyport show that the parish decided on the location of the schools, the master's salary, and in effect sustained and managed the schools, with much other business which is now usually assumed only by towns.

"Anno Regni Regis Georgii Tertiæ Quarto.

**"AN ACT FOR ERECTING PART OF THE TOWN OF NEWBURY INTO A
NEW TOWN BY THE NAME OF NEWBURYPORT:**

"Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and House of Representatives, That that part of the said town of Newbury, and the inhabitants thereof, included within the following lines, viz.:

"Beginning at the Merrimac river, against the north-easterly end of the town way, commonly called Cottle's Lane, and running as the said Lane doth, on the eastwardly side of it, to the highway commonly called the High street, and so westwardly as the said highway runs, on the northwardly side thereof, till it comes to a highway known by the name of Fish street, and thence south-westwardly as the way goes, and on the eastwardly side thereof, leading by Benjamin Moody's to a place called the West Indies, until it intersects a straight line drawn from the south-westwardly side of the highway, against Cottle's Lane, as aforesaid, to a rock in the great pasture, near the dividing line between the third and fifth parishes there, and so as the straight line goes, until it comes to the dividing line aforesaid, from thence as the said dividing line runs, by the said fifth parish down to Merrimac river, and thence along said river to the place first mentioned, be, and hereby are constituted and made a separate and distinct town by the name of NEWBURYPORT, vested and endowed with all the powers, privileges, and immunities that the inhabitants of any of the towns within this province do, or ought by law to enjoy.

"FRANCIS BERNARD, Governor.

"The twenty-eighth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four, Anno Domini."

At the date of its incorporation, Newburyport contained nearly twenty-three hundred inhabitants, (two thousand two hundred and eighty-two,) and though the territory thus set off into a separate township included but six hundred and forty-seven acres, much of this was unimproved, the buildings being principally concentrated between the northern and southern limits on the river and the ridge of land now known as High street. But within this small compass might be found what was more important than large territorial possessions—men of energy and enterprise, learning and general

intelligence, lovers of liberty, noble specimens of moral integrity, and examples of Christian principles. With these elements of prosperity in the men, their position as a separate town was speedily made to yield all its natural and attainable advantages. One of the principal arguments urged in their petition for a separation from Newbury, was that of not being sufficiently accommodated with public schools. They had hence been obliged to maintain private schools, not only at an unnecessary expense, but against the genius of the times and people, whose feelings and opinions were all in favor of the plan instituted throughout the province, of public schools supported by the whole community, and for the benefit of the whole. No sooner, therefore, were the "water-side people" by the Act of Incorporation released from the burden of supporting schools, with which on account of their location they could avail themselves to but a limited extent, and as they believed, not in that measure which was their rightful proportion, than they set about securing good and substantial ones for themselves. At the first town meeting, called by Daniel Farnham, Esq., held eleven days after the incorporation of the town, a committee was appointed to take into consideration the whole matter of providing for the instruction of the young, at the public expense; to provide good and sufficient school-houses, and the best masters that could be procured. From that time to the present Newburyport has retained an unwavering interest in the maintenance of good public schools.

With all that was secured to them unmixed with the affairs of the old town, all the municipal arrangements were readily and harmoniously carried into effect and established; but some subjects yet remained to be adjusted with Newbury. By this division of the original town, Newbury, which had formerly sent two representatives to the General Court, now was allowed but one, and Newburyport one. In regard to the public buildings which had been built at the expense of the undivided town, the Newbury assessments for them remaining, an adjustment was to be made, and if, after a settlement of the accounts, a balance remained in the treasury, Newburyport was to have a fair proportion; and if a deficiency was found, the arrangement was that she should help pay the same. Thus, too, if any of the town's poor who had temporarily removed from Newbury came back, they were to be supported by the joint resources of the towns.

An act was passed in 1767, during the governorship of Francis Bernard, in addition to those passed during the reign of William and Mary, empowering the towns to dispose of any person whose presence was undesirable, and who was not a native. The old act ordained that any stranger who persisted in remaining in a town after fourteen days' warning to leave, might be taken by a justice of the peace, and so conveyed from constable to constable until he reached the town to which he originally belonged or where he last resided.

Among these poor were some French neutrals, whom Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, had sent to Newbury. About two thousand of them were quartered in different parts of Massachusetts, during the war just closed. In 1767 several of these petitioned the town to be returned to Canada. Their hearts yearned for the sound of their native tongue, and the soil from which they had been so ruthlessly torn. The number concerned in the petitions to Newburyport were three families, including some thirty persons. The petitions, which are most pathetically worded, were granted, and the weary-worn exiles furnished with money and supplies to reach the homes of their kindred.

But experience proved that persons were sometimes to be found, who had secured to themselves no regular settlement in any town of the province, and the expense of conveying them away being great, it was ordered "that the cost should be borne by the several counties through which the person was carried, and that no one, by mere residence, should obtain an inhabitancy, no matter how long they remained in a town, unless they first expressed their wish to the selectmen, and obtained the subsequent approbation of the inhabitants, at a general meeting of the town." Neither was the town obliged to support a person or his family, if not thus approved, unless in the case of apprentices. Attached to this Act is the clause regarding the poor of Newbury.

The Court of Common Pleas, which had heretofore sat in Newbury, were in future to hold their sessions in Newburyport.

Scrupulous were the efforts made to secure an equitable partition of all the privileges and expenses, formerly concentrated in Old Newbury, and on nearly every subject were they effectual; but on the ownership of certain portions of land laid out as public ways

and landings,* by the river-side and elsewhere, the matter was not so promptly or easily settled. Part of the land, which before the division of the town, had been undivided or common, fell within the limits of Newburyport.† These lands the town considered had come under its exclusive jurisdiction, by the Act of Incorporation, but on this question the proprietors of the undivided lands took issue, and the conflicting claims of these persons and the town of Newburyport, continued unadjusted for the tedious space of sixty-three years. Particularly were the ways and landings, on the water-side, occasions of trouble. The proprietors of the adjoining lots had in many instances seriously encroached upon them. By the report of a committee appointed by the town to examine into the state of these and other public lands, it appeared that a committee appointed by the proprietors of undivided lands in Newbury, had let out certain of these ways and landings, within the limits of Newburyport, receiving the emolument arising from them, to the loss and detriment of the town.

The "water lots" had been first laid out in 1708-4, and their division was perfectly completed some three or four years later. There were two hundred and twenty-five of them, each one being assigned to a particular proprietor; the ways between them being left for the public convenience, for the landing of passengers, produce from boats, ferry-ways, &c. These, the town considered, now belonged to it exclusively, and the proprietors claimed that they still belonged to them; the progress of the dispute we shall have future occasion to refer to.

Newburyport, (and when we speak of the town hereafter, whether referring to a period anterior or subsequent to its incorporation, we intend to designate it that portion of land now included in its corporate limits, in distinction from Newbury "old town,")

* The earliest wharves built were in the vicinity of the Market; the first by Captain Paul White in 1656; one by "Marchant Dole," in 1678; by Daniel Davison and Stephen Greenleaf, in 1680; and still another by Mr. Greenleaf in 1696. The wharf at the foot of Market street was built by Abiel Somerby in 1781, and that at the foot of Marlborough street (then Muzzey's lane), by Mr. Benjamin Lunt in 1767. Between the two latter points, wharves were rapidly erected after the incorporation of the town.

† One of the ship-yards was held by the town, and three pence a ton charged for the privilege of building upon it.

Newburyport then, had already established a good reputation for ship-building; this had been for years the staple business of the town, giving employment to all those mechanical trades, whose products or labor enter into the building or rigging of vessels,—carpenters, blacksmiths, braziers, calkers, riggers, rope-makers, painters, &c. Some two years after the incorporation of the town, an individual counted in process of construction at one time, seventy-two vessels, reaching from the “Pierce farm” (now Pettingill’s) to Moggaridge’s point, (now occupied as a ship-yard by Mr. Jackman); and there was another ship-yard still higher up, called “the pasture.”

Besides supplying many merchants in England with vessels, orders for lumber were as promptly responded to. Perhaps no single circumstance shows more clearly the enterprise of the “water-side” people, than the way in which orders for lumber were in several instances answered. Instead of occupying vessels to carry what would float by its own buoyancy, they secured the timber together in the form of solid rafts, conforming them somewhat to the shape of a ship, and leaving in the centre a small cavity, capable of receiving a few men and some provisions, and having arranged with considerable ingenuity the means of navigating them, adventurous seamen enough were found to undertake the task of carrying them to London. The passages made by these rare craft would hardly compare with those of our modern clippers, but one of them is reported in a London paper as having arrived after a passage of twenty-six days; as good a voyage as was ordinarily made seventy years ago. Her commander was Captain Rose of this place.

Many vessels were built and fitted out, for owners in this town, but the principal customers for Merrimac built ships, were the British, who paid for them, sometimes wholly, almost always in part, with British manufactured goods, and the produce of the British West India Islands. This, in turn, gave employment to retail traders here, Newburyport being the market town for all the contiguous country back, extending many miles into New Hampshire—Portsmouth and Salem being the nearest rival towns on either side. Here concentrated the business of a large agricultural circle. In summer, the wagons of the farmers might be seen wending their several ways through Essex North, and from the “plantations,”

higher up the river, towards "the port," till they reached King or Fish street, where their heavy and cumbrous loads were soon disposed of, in exchange for English calico and cutlery, or West India molasses and sugar, which filled the warehouses of the Newburyport merchants; while in winter, on market days, the sound of the sleigh-bells scarcely ceased, for miles along the roads, converging in the town — many of these teams crossing the river on the ice, during the long "cold spells," of which our fathers have kept the tradition, with most marvellous accounts of their length and intensity; while here and there might be seen a large cavernous looking vehicle, — now on runners, and then on wheels, (whichever was unemployed being lashed to the wagon,) — the contents of which, the outside would never indicate, and a glance within scarce tempt one to enumerate. The primitive peddler, honored then with the more respectable name of country trader, might here be seen fulfilling his commissions, and buying on speculation various and incongruous articles, to be transported to the inland village store, and resold to such as were unable or did not choose to make the journey and their own purchases.

The trade which showed the most animation, and seemed destined to grow into the most profitable, was that carried on with the French West India Islands; for this trade, small vessels, not requiring any very heavy capital, were the most suitable; and such could be built and fitted out, and sail too, without any risk from the ominous sand-bar, which from time immemorial has lain like a couchant enemy at the mouth of the river, threatening detention and damage to any of more than moderate dimensions, which presumed to pass over it without due regard to the ebb and flow of the resistless tides. With these islands, Newburyport, from the first extensive settlement of the Merrimac, had maintained a constant and profitable, and practically unrestricted trade. The duties which by the acts of trade, Great Britain had laid on the importation of sugar and molasses from the French and Spanish Islands, had never been systematically collected in Massachusetts;* this Governor Bernard himself acknowledged, in his famous letters to the ministry; and thus, the beef and pork which cost our people but little

* Pitkin's Political and Civil History, vol. 1, p. 160.

to raise, and lumber and fish, which cost nothing but the labor of procuring, were exchanged at St. Vincent or Martinico, for the molasses, cotton, sugar, and indigo, with which England could, and heartily desired to supply us from Barbadoes and Jamaica. Hence her never-tiring jealousy was finally roused into a determination to stop this illegal trade of her colonies. In the very year that Newburyport was incorporated, Lord Grenville declared his intention of deriving a revenue from America, by internal taxes; the duties on molasses and sugar were increased, and at the same time the inquisitorial device was contrived, of making the British naval commanders *revenue officers*; obliging them to take the usual custom house oaths, for the express purpose of enabling them to intercept American vessels, and stop the trade between the colonies and the French West India Islands. Thus, at the outset of her independent career, the commerce of Newburyport received a serious, though not a fatal blow. Yet some seizures were made, of property owned in the town, under these new regulations, under circumstances which made the loss severely felt.

These arbitrary and unusual regulations, by which it was scarcely possible longer to evade the burdensome duties laid on our West Indian imports, aroused, as might have been expected, the determined opposition of the people, not only of Massachusetts, but of all New England. At this time, too, a plan was maturing in Great Britain, to change the entire structure of the colonial government; and which finally issued in an "Act for the better regulating of his Majesty's Colonies in America," which was the prelude to the grand drama of the Revolution. It was not, in *all* its odious features, yet thrust upon the province of Massachusetts; but as if to test the temper of the people, the notorious Stamp Act was passed, a fitting introduction to the scheme. In unison with the feelings of the entire province, Newburyport declared its abhorrence of this "very grievous measure;" and in a full town meeting, held in September, 1765, instructed their Representative to the General Court, Dudley Atkins, Esq., "to oppose all his influence to the carrying out of the Stamp Act," and also, those other oppressive regulations, burdening and obstructing trade. Believing the provincial charter of Massachusetts to be a confirmation of those constitutional rights secured to every British subject by the Great Charter

of Liberties, they declared their belief, and placed it on record, that "these rights no man or body of men on earth has the least right to infringe."* Growing eloquent upon the late attempt of Parliament to deprive them of these rights, which they claimed to have inherited from their ancestors, this record declares, "we received these rights as descendants of those who were parties to the Great Charter, and from those who possessed them, even before that happy era, under the Alfreds and Edwards of immortal name." Referring to their want of representation, they asked, "Are we not treated as slaves; when our brethren and equals are excluded, and we obliged to submit to a jurisdiction naturally foreign to us?" And again, in respect to the new laws promulgated by the Admiralty Court, which was believed to be in direct contravention of the British Constitution, then regarded here, as in England, as the only palladium of liberty, they designate the new code as an instrument in which "the laws of Justinian as a measure of right, and the common law, the collected wisdom of the British nation for ages, are not admitted, and where one man,† whose interest it is to condemn us in all cases, is to be our judge, both of law and fact."

With these intelligent views of the grounds of resistance, it is not surprising that the town took vigorous measures to prevent the enforcement of the Stamp Act, or that the Acts of Trade were, whenever practicable, evaded. A peculiar hardship connected with the recent change in the administration of affairs, was that the judges had power to order any particular case to be tried at any other place than where the action was laid, so that no man felt any security for a just and impartial trial. This, with many other odious laws attempted to be forced on the colonies, was, so far as principle was concerned, of quite as dangerous tendency as the Stamp Act; but the latter concentrated particularly the opposition of the people, because it was *felt universally* and at once, as a tremendous burden, because it interfered not on extraordinary occasions only, which a man might avoid by sufficient circumspection, but it was present in the daily business, and was officiously intruded on the most common affairs of life, as well as on the most interesting and important

* Town Records, vol. 1.

† Jonathan Sewall, an attorney at law.—*Hist. Rev.* by M. Warren. p. 47.

occasions. A piece of land could not be conveyed, unless the deed was recorded on stamped paper; a ship could not be cleared, a suit could not be instituted, nor any action laid, not a marriage could be contracted, nor legacy bequeathed, nor an orphan's guardianship secured, unless stamped paper, vellum or parchment, was used in recording the several writings, necessary to secure or prosecute them. No writing was valid in law which did not bear on its face the obnoxious stamp. The "Stamp Act" contains fifty-five clauses, specifying some two hundred particular cases for which stamp duties must be paid, varying in value from half a penny to six pounds. Other articles besides paper, were subject to this onerous tax; playing cards and dice were stamped, the former at a cost of one shilling for each pack, and the latter ten shillings a pair. The lowest stamp tax enacted was for a half sheet of printed paper, which was one half-penny, while any writing requiring the signature of the Governor was £6. Any instrument on which was printed or engrossed a donation or gratuity to any seminary of learning, required a stamp costing £2; and the paper appointing any individual to a public office, was taxed £4. In making a contract for payment, for the performance of labor, a tax of sixpence was laid on every twenty shillings in fifty pounds, and a shilling on every twenty above fifty. Thus the whole business of life was hampered, the diffusion of intelligence prevented, and even the social intercourse of friends obstructed, by the ubiquitous Stamp Act. No wonder that it was met with one united verdict of execration, from all America; and that in view of it, the vote of the inhabitants of this town condemning it, and their united request, "that no man in it will accept the office of distributing the stamped papers, as he regards the displeasure of the town," and that "they will deem the person accepting of such office, an enemy of his country,"* was considered sufficiently mild. But with resolutions on paper, and instructions to their legal representative, the more ardent spirits in Newburyport were not content; like the people of Boston, they were determined to root out every vestige of hope that the offensive act should *ever* be executed. They hung the stamp distributor in effigy, on a tree near the foot of Federal street, where it remained

* Town Records, vol. 1.

some forty-eight hours, (no one wishing or venturing to cut it down,) when a bonfire was kindled beneath it, into which it was dropped, amidst the derisive shouts of the mob. More dangerous and less excusable, was the conduct of a gang of young men, who paraded through the streets at night, seizing on individuals suspected of favoring the execution of the act, and compelling them to join in its condemnation, on the penalty of suffering personal violence. The town endeavored to suppress these tumultuous and disorderly proceedings, but the spirit of violent resistance would not be laid by any adjuration of the town officers; and this fit of enthusiasm was allowed to burn out, consumed by its own heat. The Act was passed in March, and was to have taken effect in November; but so thoroughly frightened were its friends by the demonstrations of the few preceding months, that when November came, neither stamps nor stamp distributors were to be found. The stamps had in many instances been burned or otherwise destroyed; and the distributors, unable to stem the torrent of contempt which was poured upon them, were glad to retrieve their former standing in the estimation of their fellow citizens, by resigning their appointments, and washing their hands of the whole matter; and before the year came round, the Act was formally repealed; not a stamp was ever paid for or used, that we can learn, in Newburyport.

The public rejoicings on the arrival of the news of the repeal, were as general and hearty as the manifestations of displeasure at its passage. The town-house was illuminated, and six and a half barrels of gunpowder were discharged from cannon, on the "upper and lower long wharves," (now Patch's and Bartlett's,) in honor of the occasion. But as a specimen of the prudence mingled with these municipal expenditures, it may be mentioned that the selectmen "recommended the inhabitants not to illuminate their houses, as the town-house illumination would be at the public expense!"

Little more than two years had now elapsed since Newburyport had obtained a legal name; and in this time arrangements had been completed for the erection of one public "grammar school," near the centre of the town, in which Latin was taught, and two "writing and arithmetic" schools, one at the north, and the other at the south part of the town, the schools being taught in hired rooms until the buildings were completed.

Some progress had also been made in recovering the town's right to portions of the disputed lands, that around Frog pond and "Burying hill," being laid out by the selectmen; the vicinity of the pond being then adorned, if ornaments they could be considered, with a powder house, windmill, rope-walk and a potash factory; all of which are faithfully represented by a drawing made from a survey of John Vinal, in February, 1766.* A quarantine was established during the summer months, to keep epidemics out; and three engine companies were organized to extinguish fires within the town. There had been an engine maintained in Newburyport for twelve years previously, by a private volunteer company; the engine having been kept in repair, and the house to contain it built, at the expense of the company; the funds being mainly contributed by merchants, who had valuable property exposed to the risk of fire. In 1770 the Honorable Tristram Dalton gave twenty pounds towards a new engine, about to be provided by the town.

Some futile attempts were made to procure a reunion with Newbury, but the movement never met with much favor. On the first trial in town meeting but fifty-two voted in the affirmative, while two hundred and sixty-two voted against such a retrograde project. Four years later a similar minority movement was as unsuccessful. Whether it was this same uneasy party, we do not know; but in 1772 a more novel motion was introduced at a town meeting held in December, namely: "to see if the town would *alter the name to that of PORTLAND*;" and at an adjourned meeting, held early in January, 1773, this motion was voted *in the affirmative*. But the better sense of the town came to its aid. This self-annihilating vote was left to wither on the town books, without practical notice of its existence, and the good old name of Newburyport, which had already attained some little fame, was allowed to go on and breathe again, and we believe no subsequent attempts have been made upon its identity.

In 1774 the first stage-coach in the country, drawn by *four* horses, was established here by Mr. Ezra Lunt,† connecting Newburyport with Boston, via Salem, leaving Boston and Newburyport on alternate days, thus making three trips a week. A stage drawn by two horses, and carrying only three passengers, had been established

* See Town Records, vol. 1. † See Biographical Notice.

in Portsmouth some years before, making a regular stop, and taking up passengers in this town for its destination, going and returning.

It was some two years later before an insurance office * (and that a private one) was opened in Newburyport, but the following copy of a policy issued in Boston, (also by a private firm,) shows the variety of perils which vessels were protected against by these private companies. The policy commences in the form of many such ancient documents, "In the name of God, Amen." The vessel insured was a brigantine, "to go to Scarborough, and any or all of the West India Islands, and back to Newburyport," in which voyage it was to be protected against the "seas, men-of-war, fire, enemies, pirates, rows, thieves, jettisons, [throwing goods over to lighten the ship in a tempest,] letters of mart and counter-mart, surprisals, takings at sea, arrests, restraints, and detainments of all kings, princes, and people, of what nation, condition, or quality soever, barratry of masters and marriners."

The form of contract in the ancient style, for building vessels, was also a little curious, as the following copy from an original one drawn twenty-three years before the incorporation of Newburyport, shows:

"Articles of Agreement, concluded on this Thirtieth day of November, in the Fifteenth year of the reign of George the Second, King of Great Britain, &c., Anno Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-One, between Samuel Moggaridge,† of Newbury, in the County of Essex, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, on the one part, and Witter Cummings‡ and Benjamine Harris on the other, in the town of Newbury, aforesaid," &c.

The contract then goes on to specify the proportions of the vessel, thickness of plank, &c., to be completed "according to the true intent and meaning of these presents mentioned and unmentioned;" the said Cummings and Harris to find and provide "all the iron-work, nails, pitch, tar, turpentine, and oakum;" the vessel to be launched

* There were no insurance companies incorporated till after the Revolution,

† Samuel Moggaridge owned the ship-yard now occupied by Mr. Jackman. To the Misses Moggaridge, who still reside on the spot, we are indebted for the original contract, written over *one hundred and twelve* years ago, and also for many local items of interest.

‡ He resided in England. See Journal of Stephen Cross in the Biographical Notices.

on or by a certain specified day, "to the liking and satisfaction" of said Cummings and Harris, for which they agree to pay "Three hundred pounds in cash, three hundred pounds by orders on good shops in Boston, two-thirds money; four hundred pounds by orders up the river for timber and plank, ten barrels of flour, fifty pounds' weight of loaf sugar, one Bag of cotton wool, one hundred bushels of corn in the spring; one hhd. of Rum, one hundred weight of cheese; the remaining part to be drawn out of the said Cummings & Harris' shop." To this contract, as duly witnessed, the parties severally bound themselves in the sum of "Three thousand pounds lawful money of New England, to be paid by the defective party."*

By a social incident that occurred about this time, we find that there was some prejudice already existing in regard to the use of foreign tea. A party of young ladies who had met at the house of the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, partook of a drink called "liberty tea," which was made from an herb which grew in the vicinity, and was thought to resemble Bohea in flavor. Thus their patriotism did not demand any very severe self-denial. More questionable was the form in which some of the male citizens displayed theirs. A man having been suspected of giving information to the revenue officers concerning the introduction of some goods on which the duties had not been paid, was seized by a self-authorized party of men, who first placed him in the stocks, then tarred and feathered, and committed other violence upon him. But these and other manifestations of feeling were but the faint mutterings before the approaching storm, which was destined to rend a continent from the grasp of a foreign tyrant.

The whole country was becoming seriously alarmed at the formidable encroachments which were daily made on their chartered rights; and amid the gathering darkness of colonial affairs the only glimmering light was that which indicated a disposition among the people to *unite* for their common safety. The various towns throughout Massachusetts, perceiving the necessity of establishing some

* The money named in the contract, to be paid for the labor, was "Old Tenor" currency, and worth nothing like its nominal value.

common ground on which they could all stand, and amid the perplexities of the times anxious to secure the counsels and sympathies of each other, established "Committees of Correspondence and Safety," who were particularly charged with the duty of devising measures to prevent farther encroachments on their rights, and means for regaining what had been already lost. In answer to a letter from Boston, Newburyport, in September, 1768, sent an individual, on behalf of the town, to confer with the Committee of the Province there, to ascertain "the best means of securing the peace and safety of the inhabitants of Massachusetts." Among other measures proposed was that of "non-importation;" the merchants agreeing not to import any goods from Great Britain or her dependencies while the existing onerous duties remained. These duties were exceedingly heavy, and levied on those articles which the Americans had not yet attempted, or were not permitted to manufacture; glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, all kinds of painters' colors, *tea*, &c. They were all afterwards repealed except the latter. To the plan of non-importation Newburyport agreed; though in doing so she perhaps sacrificed more than any other seaport town in Massachusetts; for, as has been remarked, her staple business was ship-building, principally to British orders, and for which payment was made in British goods, and by falling in with the non-importation agreement, she effectually strangled a very flourishing business, while she had not, like many other towns, any considerable amount of capital invested in other pursuits as a resource upon which to fall back in these troublous times. September 4, 1769, the town passed a vote denouncing all importers of British goods as "enemies to the liberties of the country," and expressed the determination to "pursue all constitutional measures to compel them to desist."

Yet, in some instances, they had by vote allowed individuals to build vessels already contracted for to English houses, with permission to receive payment as before agreed, in British goods; but afterwards, suspecting that this privilege was abused, and made a cover to the illicit introduction of goods, not only to the subversion of those principles expressed by the town, but to the manifest injury of those who voluntarily and honestly abstained, a strict inquiry was instituted, and a committee appointed to ascertain the facts in the case, and

where any such dishonorable course had been pursued, the committee were empowered to receive the goods thus introduced, and to store them, till such times as the duties complained of should be removed; and if any one would not promise to abstain in future, the matter was to be laid before the town, in general meeting assembled, and "their names published to the world, that they might be known as *pests* of society and enemies to the country."* The town also appointed persons to make out lists containing the names of all the inhabitants who would agree not to use any foreign *tea*; and also the names of those who refused to enter into such an agreement, with particular orders to see that those who gave their names to the measure scrupulously fulfilled the terms.

In December, 1773, a *standing committee* of safety was appointed, and the town publicly expressed its determination "to prevent the landing of any tea while the tax upon it remained," and so far as it was possible to prevent it, to insure that none should be sold or used in the town. A systematic surveillance was kept up, and tea was contraband through the voluntary decision of the community. On the heels of this came the announcement of the Boston Port Bill; and Newburyport, with ready liberality † voted two hundred pounds of lawful money, to be sent for the benefit of any indigent persons in Boston who were suffering from that measure. This sum was raised by "an assessment upon all the legal voters in town, in proportion to their property; any one to have the liberty of refusing payment if he pleased;" and at the same sitting, it was unanimously resolved, "that this town will stand by the results of the Congress," (then sitting in Philadelphia,) "even if it be to the stopping of all trade."

On the anniversary of the "Boston Massacre," this year, (1774,) which occurred on the 5th of March, four years before, "the event was celebrated in Newburyport by every true son of liberty. The day was ushered in by the tolling of bells. At eleven o'clock a discourse was preached by the Rev. Jonathan Parsons at the First Presbyterian meeting-house, and in the evening the bells were tolled again." ‡

* Town Records.

† Town Records, Aug. 3, 1774.

‡ Essex Journal.

During this year, too, the ground in the vicinity of Frog pond was ordered by the town to "be levelled for a training field," the first material improvement made in that vicinity.

But while attention was divided by the events now transpiring in the metropolis of the province, and the great issues before the Continental Congress, the people of Newburyport did not suffer their vigilance to relax in watching and guarding against the infringement of their own resolutions. In a volume of the "*Essex Journal and Merrimac Packet*," published in Newburyport in 1774, we find the following paragraphs, which show the determined spirit which prevailed :

"July 20. We have it from good authority, that a ship with a number of chests of tea on board, is hourly expected to arrive at this place. It is to be hoped that this town, who were *the first in the province* that appeared determined in resisting the detested Boston Port Bill, by hauling up all their shipping, will not suffer their honor to be eclipsed, by tamely suffering that political plague, TEA, to be introduced at this time," &c.

And again,

"In Salem, last week, while a party were engaged drinking tea, an enraged bull dashed at the windows, and then entered the room, overturning the table, and causing considerable damage." "Thus," remarks the editor, "even dumb creation exert themselves in *action*, in opposing the endeavors to enslave this free people."

And here another :

"Near a training field at Charlestown, a bag of tea was accidentally stumbled upon, which was carried directly to the troops, a fire built around it, and immediately consumed, when it was suggested that more was probably secreted in the vicinity; search was made, and enough was found to fill a large hogshead; it was immediately surrounded with fagots, and martyred, to the infinite satisfaction of the large company assembled to witness the execution. A gentleman from Newburyport was present, and actively assisted in the destruction of this national contraband; there was nearly five hundred weight consumed." And the editor expresses the hope, that "we shall soon be entirely rid of this troublesome commodity, *which keeps the whole continent in a ferment.*"

An individual who lived some miles up the river, had been suspected of introducing a small quantity of tea, for his own use. He thus replies in the "Essex Journal," (of September 30,) to the rumors against his patriotism :

"It is invidiously suggested, among other things, that I beat and abused my negro, for telling the truth, and because he would not lie in my favor; and that I have sold him at a great distance, to prevent a discovery about some tea.

"I therefore do hereby on my honour declare, that I have not within one year last past, brought up river, in my boat, so much as *one ounce of tea*, and that I brought up in her, on said 'Fast day,' two casks of nails, and one of sugar, and nothing more; and that I never heard of my negro's having reported that those casks did contain tea, till after he ran away, and I had engaged to sell him; and that I sold the said negro for his notorious lying, and other faults, for which I was unwilling to give due correction, which if it had been applied, would have reformed him."

The year 1774*, was prolific of devices by the British Parliament leading to irreconcilable difficulties with the colonies. For some time past, the people of Boston particularly, but also those in every port of entry in Massachusetts, including Newburyport, had been brought into frequent collisions with the revenue officers, and the general opposition which was manifested to the payment of the new duties, convinced the ministry, aided as they were in their conclusions by the representations of Governor Hutchinson, that there was something vitally wrong in the temper of the New England colonists, especially those of Massachusetts. With the idea, then, of accomplishing a thorough and permanent reformation of the "evils" which encouraged this rebellious disposition, Parliament passed, in the early part of this year, an act totally subverting their early charter rights, and many of those privileges confirmed to them by William and Mary.

* During this year an attempt was made to move "forefather's rock," at Plymouth, for the purpose of placing it in the public square, and raising a liberty pole upon it. From some undiscovered cause, the rock mysteriously split in two, which was "enthusiastically received as an omen of the separation of the countries."

The following are the principal points of the Bill "for the better regulating the Government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay," and which called forth a storm of indignant remonstrance, and determined resistance on the part of the people.

First, this bill deprived the people of all voice in the choice of the Governor and Council, who were henceforth to be appointed by his Majesty's commission, under the seal of Great Britain; the act affirming, "that the persons heretofore elected by the people to this office, had been of such a character as to weaken the attachment of his Majesty's well-disposed subjects; and to encourage the ill-disposed among them, to proceed even to acts of resistance, as hath actually taken place in the town of Boston."

Secondly, it gave to this royally appointed Governor, or in his absence, the Lieutenant Governor, the right to appoint the judges of the Inferior Courts, and of the Common Pleas; the attorney general, sheriffs, provosts, marshals, &c.; and also, upon vacancies occurring among the judges of the Supreme Court, the Governor, *without the consent* of his own council, even, might fill those vacancies with creatures of his own choice.

"To remedy the abuses, consequent upon town meetings," freely conducted, it was decreed that the inhabitants might meet *once a year*, for the choice of selectmen and some other town officers, but ordained "that *no other matter* should be treated of at such meetings; for that a great abuse has heretofore been made, of the power of calling such meetings; and the inhabitants have been *mised*, to treat upon matters of the most general concern; and to pass many dangerous and unwarrantable resolves." On this account, no town meeting was to be held, (except for the bare election of town officers,) without a *written permission* from the Governor.

The right granted in the time of William and Mary, for the inhabitants to choose persons as jurymen, was taken away, and all jurymen, grand and petty, were returnable to the sheriff only — the creature of the royal Governor's appointment thus insuring, in every case between the Government and the people, a packed jury, ready to express the will of the Governor. And as if this was not enough, it was further ordained, "that on motion of either of the parties, a cause or action might be tried in any other county than that where the action was first brought." All this, and much more

of the same nature was enforced by fines and penalties, laying the whole province at the complete mercy of the Governor and his minions.

In view of these dangerous innovations, a town meeting was called in August, and it was unanimously voted, in answer to a proposal from the Committee of Safety, at Marblehead, "That in the opinion of this Town, the situation of our public affairs claim the attention of every true friend to his country, and demand an exertion of their utmost abilities, to preserve it from that infamy and ruin that now stare us in the face; wherefore, we do most earnestly concur in the proposal for a county meeting, and accordingly appoint Tristram Dalton, Esq., Mr. Jonathan Jackson, Capt. Jonathan Greenleaf, Messrs. Stephen Cross and John Broomfield, a committee on the part of this town, to meet with the committees of the other towns in this county, when and where shall be judged most convenient, in order that they may from time to time deliberate, propose and pursue all such measures as may have the most probable tendency to serve the interests of the community, in this time of difficulty and danger; this committee to continue until the further order of this town, and to have a reasonable allowance for their services.

"Voted, *nem. con.*

"Attest, }
A true Copy, }

STEPHEN SEWALL, *Town Clerk.*"

The delegates appointed by Newburyport to meet with those from other towns in the County of Essex, met at Ipswich, on the 6th and 7th of September.

Among the final resolves, were the following:

Resolved, "That the Act of Parliament, entitled, 'An Act for the better regulating the Government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England,' being a most dangerous infraction of our constitutional and charter rights, and tending to a total subversion of the government of the province, and destruction of our liberties; and having been with uncommon zeal, with arbitrary exertions, and military violence attempted to be carried into execution; and this zeal, these exertions, and this violence still continuing:—from the sacred regard, the inviolable attachment we owe to those rights which are essential to, and distinguish us as *Englishmen* and freemen; and from a tender concern for the peace of this country,

we are bound to pursue all reasonable measures, by which any attempts to enforce immediate obedience to that Act, may be defeated.

“That the judges, justices and other civil officers in this county, appointed agreeable to the charter and the laws of the province, are the only civil officers in the county whom we may lawfully obey. That no authority whatever can remove those officers, except that which is constituted pursuant to the charter and those laws. That it is the duty of these officers to continue in the execution of their respective trusts, *as if the afore-mentioned Act of Parliament had never been made.* And that, while they thus continue, untainted by any official misconduct, in conformity to said Act, we will vigorously support them therein, to the utmost of our power, indemnify them in their persons and property, and to their lawful doings yield a ready obedience.”

It having been intimated, that the next Court to be held in Newburyport would not be permitted to sit, it was resolved, by the delegates of Essex County, who met at Ipswich, “that all the judges and other officers held their commissions agreeably to the charter and the laws of the province,” and therefore ought to be sustained by the county: — that it was the duty of the officers to continue their functions the same as if the late Act of Parliament had never passed, and that while they continue “untainted by any official misconduct, the county will support them.” And the people of Newburyport fulfilled their part of the above resolve at a town meeting held Sept. 28, Jonathan Greenleaf being Moderator. It was *Voted*, that “the determination of the county delegates, expressed in their late meeting at Ipswich, ought to be adhered to, and the Court supported in the exercise of their constitutional authority, and accordingly we will, as far as is in our power, support them. But if any officers of the Court presume to act under the new and oppressive regulations, they must cease to expect support from us.”

The Court was held, and the county and town resolutions carried out by the people, as confidently as if those addresses had been legal legislative acts. One Nathan Brown, of Newburyport, having accepted a commission as under-sheriff, grounded on the late offensive Act of Parliament, was waited upon by the committee of the town, and informed that he had thus incurred the displeasure of his fellow

citizens, made a formal and public renunciation of his commission, promising in future to maintain the old charter privileges, and in no case to accept an office from the new administration.

The following Committee of Safety and Correspondence were appointed by the town, on the 23d September, 1774 :

Honorable Benjamin Greenleaf,	Captain Jonathan Greenleaf,
Patrick Tracy, Esquire,	Dr. Micajah Sawyer,
Dr. John Sprague,	Mr. David Moody,
William Atkins, Esquire,	Mr. John Bromfield,
Captain James Hudson,	Mr. John Stone,
Mr. Edmund Bartlett,	Major William Coffin,
Mr. Ralph Cross, Jr.,	Captain Thomas Thomas,
Tristram Dalton, Esquire,	Captain Joseph Huse,
Mr. Edward Harris,	Captain Samuel Batchelor,
Mr. Enoch Titcomb, Jr.,	Mr. Moses Nowell,
Captain Jacob Boardman,	Mr. Jonathan Jackson,
Mr. William Teel,	Mr. Richard Titcomb,
Mr. Samuel Tufts,	Mr. John Herbert,
Captain Moses Rogers,	Mr. Moses Frazier,
Mr. Jonathan Marsh,	Captain Nicholas Tracy,

The people were now preparing in earnest for the coming struggle, and were providing themselves with arms and ammunition ; the Committee of Safety of Newburyport reported in November, " that the people throughout the town were well supplied with arms, and those few who were deficient were resolved immediately to obtain them." About this time, too, the town was divided into military lines. Every male over sixteen years of age was required to appear " complete in arms and ammunition," either under officers commanding independent companies, or in one of the four existing companies belonging to the town. These were required to meet for practice in the military art, such persons only to be excepted whom the field officer " judged unfit or unable." And on a list of the names thus organized into military companies being presented, and it being discovered that some few had not enrolled themselves, the selectmen were authorized to go around to every man thus insensible or indifferent to the fate of the country, and *ask him his reason* for such neglect.

Among the independent companies formed was one by the Marine Society of Newburyport, then but two years old, and consisting of seventy-six persons, who formed themselves into a company called the Independent Marine Company, with Captain James Hudson as their commander. Their colors were expressive not only of their profession, but combined the insignia of the State, and their sentiments in regard to war; the standard being a blue anchor on a red field, supported by a pine tree and olive branch. One excellent rule they adopted, viz., that every neglect of duty by an officer should be subject to *double the penalty* imposed on a private.

During the winter the town was thoroughly canvassed, and every man capable of bearing arms was enrolled in one of the regular or independent companies.

Early in the spring of 1775, the town raised and provided for the pay of a number of minute-men, promising to give those who would serve, "as much as any other town in the county, for the time spent in practice."

Anticipating that in the event of war, which they appear now to have seen plainly approaching, attempts might be made by the enemy to enter the harbor and attack the town, a project was brought forward, and soon carried into effect, of obstructing the navigation of the river by sinking piers in the channel. The town wisely determined, however, "not to obstruct the whole passage," but to place the piers in such a way that it would be difficult for strangers to find the passage, while the town's people, familiar with the channel, might be able to make their way in safety. A small vessel, with a suitable number of men, was also stationed near these sunken piers, to give information to and pilot in friends, as well as to sound the alarm on any appearance of an enemy, or "to prevent any strangers sounding the river."

The number of piers sunk, was three, about twelve feet square. A fort was also built on the Salisbury shore, called "Fort Merrimac," and shortly after another on Plum Island. These harbor defences cost £2,488, 8s. 2½d.

A building in which to commence the manufacture of saltpetre, was also erected, the town voting to procure, (September 28,) the following items, with which to furnish it, which, no doubt, the

manufacturers of saltpetre, if any such ever look over this page, will duly appreciate, viz.:

“1 dozen molasses hogsheads.
 1 “ half barrel tubs.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ “ trays.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ “ thin iron shovels.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ “ pails
 Bricks and setting the kettles.”

The building was placed in the position which the old potash house formerly occupied near Frog pond.

At the same time, a resolve was passed, “that those persons who shall violate the resolves of the Continental Congress, respecting the *unnecessary use of gunpowder*, shall have their names published in the newspapers, as enemies to their country.”

By the spring of 1775, the town was put into a state of thorough preparation for war, the Committee of Safety had divided the whole town into four military districts, having their alarm posts, &c. The first district included all that part of the town below Federal street; the second, the portion between Federal and State; the third between State and Market; the fourth all above Market. The harbor was protected as before described; military stores and even provisions were laid up; heavy cannon purchased; arms provided for such as wished to enlist in the Provincial service, and needed such assistance; and arrangements were made for supplying their families during their absence, and the Committee of Safety were authorized to incur “*any expense* which the safety of the town or county required.”

Up to the time when these warlike preparations commenced, the annual expenses of the town had been about seven hundred and fifty pounds; this year fifteen hundred pounds were voted at a town meeting held in September; and this sum, which then appeared monstrous, afterwards sunk into perfect insignificance, beside those which were freely voted to sustain the burdens of the war. And though on the first meeting of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, Newburyport had sent a representation to that body, setting forth the interests which she had at stake in the concerns of trade and commerce, and suggesting conciliatory measures, yet, no sooner did the safety and honor of the country appear to demand

the sacrifice of her trade, by armed resistance to the impositions of Great Britain, than she cheerfully acquiesced, *and anticipating the actual result of those deliberations*, before they were determined on by the authors, as early as May, it was resolved, in a full town meeting, "that if the Honorable Congress should, for the safety of the United Colonies, declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, this town will, with their lives and fortunes, support them in the measure."

But though so jealous for the national honor, and so willing to help maintain it, local and every-day affairs were not overlooked or slighted, but received as diligent attention as if all had been peaceful without. In laying out and improving the streets, in the ordering of the schools, and in all those municipal regulations, on which the peace, order, and intelligence of any community rest, the town had made commendable progress; but its business was wellnigh destroyed, at least, made no advance for the next succeeding seven or eight years. In addition to the public schools, many private ones, particularly for girls, were maintained, nor was any town school suspended, during the long and trying struggle of the Revolution.

The following extract from the *Essex Journal* of April 6, 1774, shows that Newburyport was ready to go as far as any in procuring desirable reforms:

"Last Thursday, there arrived in this town Mr. Wm. Goddard, who brought letters from the Committee of Correspondence of Boston, to the Committee in this town, upon the important and interesting affair of establishing Post Offices and Post Riders, upon a more constitutional plan than the edicts of a despotic British Parliament. The inhabitants assembled and voted, *nem. con.*, that if the other provinces came into the measure, they would afford all the aid and assistance in their power."

In the spring came the news of the seizure of the public stores at Concord by the British troops, or "regulars," as those stationed in Boston were generally called, and the battle of Lexington; and tradition informs us of an amusing and ludicrous event, that occurred a day or two after the latter affair. A town meeting was assembled,

and the minister of the first parish, Mr. Carey, was just about opening it with prayer, when an individual rushed in, bearing all the marks of real alarm in his countenance, covered with dust, his apparel disordered, and shouting, "Turn out! turn out! for God's sake turn out, or you will all be killed; the *regulars* are coming, cutting and slashing all before them!!" The assembly of course were thrown into the utmost confusion; the minister's prayer was stayed; some rushed tumultuously out of the house, while to those who retained their equanimity sufficiently to make an inquiry, the only answer vouchsafed by the breathless messenger was, "that they [the British troops] were now at Ipswich, cutting and slashing all before them," and either unable or unwilling to give any farther information, *he* disappeared from the town-house, no one could tell how, leaving the worst to be conjectured by his startled auditors. Unarmed as they were, and not knowing but the "regulars" were already entering the town, each one made for his own home, anxious to secure the safety of his family. Many, by the time they reached their homes, had sufficiently recovered from their fright to take only prudent precautions against the threatened danger; while others, considering it a hoax, refused to do anything till they should find out the origin of the story; while others still, began seriously to barricade and fortify their houses as best they might, resolving to sell their lives dearly, if attacked. But among that numerous class of persons who are ever startled from their propriety on the first sound of an unexpected danger, the ensuing scenes were ridiculous enough. Men and boys might be seen running through the streets, answering the inquiries of "What is the matter?" with the same reply which the messenger, Mr. Ebenezer Todd, had brought from Rowley, with the addition, that "by this time, they are at Old Town Bridge." Presently the streets leading from the town were sprinkled with pedestrians, and vehicles containing children and goods, to be saved from the rage of the terrible "regulars." One old lady, we are told, anxious to save her gold, took in her hand, as she supposed, the leathern bag containing it; when, after running several miles, and sitting down by the wayside to gather strength to renew her flight, she discovered, to her infinite dismay, that she had taken the wrong bag, and had burdened herself with a lot of leaden weights; while, as Mr. Coffin relates, another woman "took up a

cat, which had crept unnoticed into a cradle, and carried it a long distance, not discovering her mistake till she sat down on the steps of the Belleville meeting-house to nurse the supposed child;" her horror may be imagined, when she discovered that she had left her child to the pitiless swords of the "regulars." These terror-stricken ones, as they fled, told the news to others, and they in turn to those a few miles on, the story being ever the same, "that the regulars were close behind, cutting and slashing all before them." The fright extended to Haverhill, and was finally allayed by the arrival of a reliable witness from Ipswich, who on learning the state of affairs, rode over with extraordinary speed to undeceive the people. But of all the self-deceived and deceiving retailers of this imaginary onslaught, none quite equalled the delusion of a gentleman, who, being stopped by a neighbor as he rode furiously through Tappan's lane, and solicited for information, as to "whether any one had been killed," replied, "Why, I've rode over more than twenty dead bodies this morning!" What the state of his mind was, to imagine such a monstrous fiction as this, it is needless to ask. The origin of this report has never been ascertained; it appeared simultaneously, in various parts of the country, east of Boston; and the most reasonable conjecture is, that the British started it, by agents at designated spots, to test the spirits and courage of the people.

But if they gathered any comfort from the result here, it was of short duration; for a company had already marched from Newburyport to Lexington, having proceeded thither on the first intelligence of the skirmish there, leaving the town at 11 o'clock at night, that no time might be lost in offering their assistance.

It was now perceived that peace was impossible; General Gage with his troops was already invested in Boston, and the ministers from the pulpits joined their persuasions to the general voice of the town, and treated their hearers to patriotic and political addresses, as well as dispensing religious instruction. The Rev. Jonathan Parsons having made an appeal at the close of one of his sermons, in which he called on his hearers to form volunteer companies, and invited those to walk out into the broad aisle who would do so, Mr. Ezra Lunt was the first to come forward; others followed, and a volunteer company was immediately formed, with Ezra Lunt as

Captain. His was the first volunteer company formed for the purpose of joining the continental army. On the 9th of May ensuing, this company was provided with accoutrements by the town; and that they used them right well, Bunker Hill soon after witnessed. One of our native poets,* a relative of Captain Lunt, has well described the enthusiasm which inspired these first volunteers in defence of American liberty :

“ They left the plough in the corn,
They left the steer in the yoke,
And away from mother and child that morn,
And the maiden’s first kiss they broke.
In the shower of the deadly shot,
In the lurid van of the war,
Sternly they stood — but they answered not
To the hireling’s wild hurrah.

But still as the brooding storm,
Ere it dashes ocean to foam;
The strength of the free was in every arm,
And every heart on its home.
Of their pleasant homes they thought,
They prayed to their fathers’ God;
But forward they went, till their dear blood bought
The broad, free land they trod.”

From the original enlisting papers of Colonel Benjamin Perkins, his muster-rolls, bills, letters, &c., we learn the names of the officers and men who accompanied him to Bunker Hill; and also that many of the same afterwards reënlisted the following December, and were with him on Long Island† and White Plains, remaining attached to Washington’s army during the ensuing summer. The

* Hon. George Lunt, late of Newburyport, now of Boston.

† While in camp on Long Island, an incident occurred, showing the regard which Captain Perkins had for the members of his company. An inferior officer, belonging to another regiment, had beaten and abused a man bearing the curious name of Newport Rhode Island, who was enlisted in Newburyport in December, 1775. Captain Perkins having failed in the effort to induce the officer to make some reparation, confined him to his tent, and wrote to Brigadier General Green, to know what course should be pursued, “that the soldier might have justice done him.” The letter is dated July 11, 1776. In his muster-roll for this year, opposite the name of one Caleb Blood is written — “lost on Long Island, through neglect.”

commission under which Captain Perkins led his men on the 17th of June is dated at Watertown, May 19th, 1775, and is signed by Joseph Warren, President. His company were mostly enlisted some ten days before. The following are the names of the company:

Benjamin Perkins, Captain.
 Joseph Whittemore, 1st Lieutenant.
 Stephen Jenkins, 2d Lieutenant.
 William Stickney, Ensign.
 Samuel Foster, 1st Sergeant.
 Amos Pearson, 2d Sergeant.
 Thomas Frothingham, 3d Sergeant.
 Thomas Wescomb, 4th Sergeant.
 John Brazier, Drummer.
 Richard Hale, Drummer.
 Isaac Howard, Fifer.
 John West Folsom, Fifer.

Privates.

Jonathan Carter,	Philip Johnston,
Edward Swain,	Isaac Frothingham,
Jeremiah Smith,	John Dilaway,
Moses Wickes,	Charles Jarvis,
Benjamin E. Knapp,	Stephen Wyatt,
Benjamin Perkins,	John Kettle,
Moses Pidgeon,	Josiah Teal,
Daniel Pike,	Paul Stevens,
Edmund Rogers,	Joseph Davis,
Nathaniel Godfrey,	Thomas Merrill,
Thomas Boardman,	Benjamin Eaton,
Samuel Coffin,	Joseph Stickney,
Zebulon Titcomb,	William Conor,
Joseph Somersby,	Solomon Aubin,
Samuel Harris,	Joseph Somersby 2d,
Jacob Knapp,	Nicholas Titcomb,
John Cook,	Silas Parker,
Thomas Wyatt,	Moses Carr,
Abraham Toppan,	Amos Hale,

John Brett,	Make Peace Colby,*
Jonathan Norton,†	Jacob Foss,
Moses Newman,	Jacob Willard,
Thomas Haynes,	Simeon Noyes,
Aaron Davis,	Patrick Tracy,
Abiel Kent,	William Page,
Joseph Mitchell,	Benjamin Cotton,
Patrick Harrington,	Daniel Lane,
Joseph Noyes,	Shadrack Ireland,
Charles Butler,	Daniel Somersby,
John Coffin,	Benjamin H. Toppan,
Joseph Knight,	Benjamin McClanning,
John Murray,	Michael Titcomb,
Joseph Pettingell,	William Elliot,
Samuel Nelson.‡	

On the morning of the 17th June, when Captain Perkins reached Charlestown neck with his men, he found it was commanded by the shot from the Glasgow, man-of-war, and also by two floating batteries, which kept up a heavy cross fire on the American troops, who attempted to pass. Finding it growing rather warm, he threw away his wig,§ ordered his men to follow in single file, and made the passage without loss. From a pamphlet published by Colonel Samuel Swett || of Boston, (son of the late Doctor J. Barnard Swett, of Newburyport,) we learn that three of this company were wounded, and as two of these, and one of Frye's regiment, belonging to Newburyport, were called upon to give some evidence concerning the

* *Make Peace Colby*, in direct contravention to his name, afterwards "enlisted for the war."

† *Jonathan Norton*, was wounded so that he soon after died of his wounds.

‡ *Samuel Nelson* was slain in the battle.

§ Among Captain Perkins's papers, we find one marked, "Loss sustained in the late battle on Bunker's Hill, on the 17th June, 1775, in Benjamin Perkins's company," in which is enumerated, two men, one on the ground, and one of his wounds, six guns, seven bayonets, two cartridge boxes, two cutlasses, one drum, one fife, one hat and one handkerchief; the wig, we suppose, being an optional sacrifice, was not put into the bill.

|| *Historical and Topographical Sketch of Bunker Hill Battle, with a Plan.*"

conduct of General Putnam in that battle, and thus incidentally state the position of their respective companies on the ground, we have made a few extracts, bearing on this point and their conduct there.

Philip Bagley, well known as the deputy sheriff of Newburyport for over thirty years, was attached to Frye's regiment. He says, "Went over night; fought at the breastwork till they turned the corner of the rail fence, and began to rake the whole breastwork, * * * the shot were very thick."

Colonel Joseph Whitmore, of Newburyport, was first Lieutenant in Captain Perkins's Company, and belonged to Little's regiment; he stated, before Ebenezer Mosely, Esquire, that "he went with part of his company down to the left of the redoubt, near some trees which were standing, and there received the attack." On the retreat, Colonel Whitmore was wounded in the thigh, at the very moment General Warren fell, and was within six feet of him. He further stated that knowing General Putnam well, he said to him, "General, shan't we rally again?" and that Putnam replied, "Yes, as soon as we can; are you wounded?" Colonel Whitmore's life was only saved by his being carried off the field on the back of a companion.

Philip Johnson, of Newburyport, of the same company, also stated before Mr. Mosely, — "Was at the rail fence; while there, just before the action began, saw General Putnam on horseback; very near him, and distinctly heard him say, 'Men, you know you are all good marksmen, you can take a squirrel from the tallest tree. Don't fire till you see the whites of their eyes.' Immediately after the first retreat of the British, General Putnam rode up and said, 'Men, you have done well, but next time you will do better; aim at the officers.' * * The balls were flying as thick as peas."

Mr. Amos Pearson, serjeant of the same company, afterwards a commissioned officer, and lieutenant in the campaign of 1777, was also wounded in the arm on the retreat. He had but one cartridge left, and not liking to have it lost, turned round to discharge it at a troop of grenadiers, who were in pursuit, but as he raised his arm to ram down the charge, he received a shot which disabled him from discharging his own piece, and barely escaped with his life. Of the regiment to which Captain Perkins belonged, seven were killed and twenty-three wounded.

Colonel Wade, of Ipswich, (Treasurer of Essex County,) a Captain in Little's regiment, says : " I was at the rail fence. * * * One of our cannon, deserted by Callender, was fired a number of times very near me. Two men in our regiment, Halliday and Dutton, of Newburyport, fired one of the cannon three or four times, *and hurraed very loud.*" * * *

In the report made to Congress, by the " Committee for Massachusetts," reference is also incidentally made to these companies, which were included in the Essex troops; the report says, " the artillery advanced towards the open space between the breastwork and rail fence; this ground was defended by *some brave Essex* troops, covered only by scattered trees. With resolution and deadly aim, they poured the most destructive volleys on the enemy. The [enemy's] cannon, however, turned the breastwork, enfiladed the line, and sent the balls through the open gateway or sallyport, directly into the redoubt; under cover of which, the troops at the breastwork were compelled to retire."

Captain Ezra Lunt's company was ordered up to cover the retreat of these exhausted troops, whose ammunition was now all expended. His company did good service, and with aid of others forming this devoted rear-guard, effectually kept the enemy at bay till the retreat was accomplished, but many of them were killed or wounded.

The detachment under Arnold destined to the siege of Quebec, encamped here for several days, awaiting the transports which were to convey them to the Kennebec. Here an addition was made to their numbers. Among others who joined them was the Rev. Samuel Spring, (afterwards pastor of the third religious society in Newburyport,) who accompanied the expedition in the capacity of chaplain. Of the detachment,—three companies,—the riflemen bivouacked at the head of Rolf's lane, (now Green street in Newbury,) and the others obtained use of the rope-walks in the town, as barracks for the time they remained here; they embarked on the morning of the 19th September,* in some ten or eleven transports for the mouth of the Kennebec.

* Mr. Henry, of Pennsylvania, who has published a journal of this expedition, makes the day of sailing the 18th; other historical and all the local evidence settles it on the 19th September.

General Arnold was entertained while here by Messrs. Nathaniel Tracy and Tristram Dalton, whose mansions were well accustomed to the presence of distinguished guests.

Joseph Weare, of Needham, Massachusetts, who accompanied the expedition and kept a journal of the events connected with it, says : "September 15, 1775. This morning marched briskly along, and got into Newburyport at eight o'clock at night, where we were to make a stay for some days.

"16th.—In Newburyport, waiting for the vessel's getting ready to carry us to Kennebec.

"17th.—This day had a grand review, and our men appear well and in good spirits, and we had the praise of hundreds of spectators who were sorry to see so many brave fellows going to be sacrificed for their country.

[Mr. Weare's modesty, it will be perceived, did not lead him to the suppression of the truth, though decked in compliments.]

"18th.—Had orders to embark in the evening. Our fleet consisted of eleven sail of vessels, sloops, and schooners. Our number of troops consisted of one thousand three hundred men—eleven companies of musketmen, and three of riflemen. We all embarked this evening, and lay in the river all night.

"19th.—Early this morning weighed anchor with a pleasant gale, our colors flying, drums and fifes a playing."

From the dissolution of the Assembly by Governor Gage (June, 1775) to July of the next year, Massachusetts was without any legally constituted government, and was for five years without a Governor; yet there was neither anarchy nor crime in her borders. The people spontaneously and voluntarily conformed to all those rules of right in their intercourse with each other, that constitute the practical well-being of a state. The whole province being divided into townships, these little democracies met from time to time, and transacted such business as the public exigencies required. The whole legislative power was vested in their Provincial Congress, which met at Concord and other places, and in the Committees of Safety appointed by the towns;* yet these had no powers to enforce any of

* In May, of this year, Michael Hodge was sworn in as Town Clerk by the Selectmen, "there being no Justice of the Peace in the town."—*Town Records*, May 6th, 1776.

their resolves or orders. They could only "recommend;" yet to the honor of the people be it said, these recommendations, frequently involving heavy taxes of time and money, were cheerfully sustained, and carried out with alacrity. The world does not present such another instance of a large province remaining for such a length of time without executive officers, and retaining of its own accord, and by its own inherent sense of propriety, perfect order, and as good security to life and property as could be found in any other country of Christendom, perhaps better. In these honorable characteristics Newburyport participated. They taxed themselves for all the purposes of town or county expenditures recommended by those temporarily entrusted with the oversight of affairs, and met the requisitions of the Provincial, as they did afterwards the Continental Congress, with cheerful promptitude; and received the news that the latter had declared the United States free and independent, not only with acquiescence, but enthusiasm. The Declaration of Independence was read in all the meeting-houses, (August 11th,) and the Town Clerk evinced his satisfaction at the measure, by recording, under date of September 2d, 1776, this endorsement to the call for the meeting:

"This meeting was illegal, because the *venire* for calling it was in the name of the British tyrant, whose name all America justly execrates.

(Signed) NICHOLAS PIKE.*"

A House of Representatives had been chosen in July, in accordance with writs issued in the name and on the responsibility of James Warren, the President of the Provincial Congress, and Boston being still in the hands of Gage and the British troops, they were summoned to meet at Watertown. In October, Newburyport instructed her delegates to this House to use their influence there to procure the draft of a Constitution or form of government for the State, which should be submitted to the people for their approbation before passing to enactment. When this Constitution was presented to the people, it was found to be grossly defective, and was rejected, measures being taken to procure another.

* See Biographical Notice.

Several of the towns in the County of Essex appointed delegates to meet in Convention at Ipswich, to consider of the amendments necessary for the State Constitution, or rather to make the draft for a new one. To this Convention Theophilus Parsons* was a delegate, and was placed on a committee to draft a report on the subject, which was afterwards published under the title of the *Essex Result*, and had an immense influence on the public mind. This paper was not a mere synopsis of what was needed by Massachusetts at that particular time, but with a comprehensive prescience embodied all those great general principles afterwards incorporated in the best drawn Constitutions of the separate or united States. The true elements of republicanism, divested of all that was visionary or impracticable, were here portrayed in terse and vigorous language; and though containing some few sentiments introduced for the satisfaction of the other members of the committee, it remains an honorable memento of the power and genius of the Newburyport delegate; and at the time produced a more extensive influence than any publication touching the proposed Constitution. A year and a half later, Mr. Parsons labored efficiently in procuring the adoption of that Constitution of Massachusetts which received the assent of the majority of the people. And again, in 1778, when the plan prepared by Congress for the confederation of the States was presented, Newburyport instructed her representatives to give their voices for it; in this, as in every other measure for the public good during this trying period, giving their influence, men, and money freely to the cause.

At this time requisitions upon the towns were frequent for men to join the continental army. At one time (August, 1777) Newburyport was required to raise *one-sixth* of her men capable of bearing arms, for the continental service. Of course there were many drafted out under these orders who could ill afford to leave their business for the pay then given by the State or Congress, and whose families must in consequence be left unprovided for. The town therefore voted on this and many subsequent occasions, an additional bounty to such as would enlist. The necessity for this, and also for maintaining the families of those whose usual support was taken away,

* See Biographical Notice.

added immensely to the expenses of the town during the war. On this occasion the town voted to pay seven pounds ten shillings per month additional bounty to each man who enlisted, and also "to assist as much as they can in furnishing provisions for the army."

So unanimous were the people of this vicinity in their support of the Declaration of Independence, that notwithstanding the vigilance of the Committee of Safety, who with the aid of the community, must have detected any symptoms of disaffection, we find that only *two* persons were ever proceeded against under the act for securing this and other States "against danger from internal enemies." Their names were Daniel Bailey and John Anderson, and may be found in the Town Records under date of June 16th, 1777.

An act having been passed by the Provincial Government, regulating the price of provisions, imported goods, labor, &c., it was recommended by the selectmen, in conjunction with the Committee of Safety, "that those gentlemen who have on hand stocks of West India goods, imported before the regulating act went into effect, should sell them to the people at reasonable prices; charging, as nearly as they can, in accordance with the ability to pay of those that stand in need."

Since the difficulties attending importation, and the frequent demands on the country for provisions for the army, prices had risen to an exorbitant height, and this act, regulating the price of goods, was intended to prevent monopoly among speculators, who by their combinations, and forestalling of the markets, added to the already heavy burdens of the people. But capital cannot thus be controlled; and of all the acts passed by the chosen representatives of the people, none was so totally ineffective as this. People sold as they could afford to sell, and customers bought as they had the means to buy.

As might have been expected, the act regulating the price of articles of daily use and consumption, became practically a dead letter; though, to insure its execution, the importer was required to deliver to the retail trader, a bill of the original cost, by which he might see that no illegal profit was taken; while the retailer, in turn, was required to limit his advance to twenty per cent. on the pound, and to deliver to his customers a bill of the original cost, or to show the same, if requested to do so. But people would rather *give* away

a whole pound than lose a fraction in the way of trade, and not only were the heavy *assessments* voted by the town met with promptitude, but many persons contributed, in addition, articles of clothing, arms, &c., to help equip the men drafted out for the continental army. In Mr. Daniel Balche's Journal for 1777, we find an account of some articles, thus contributed by him, for the benefit of a company of thirty-three persons, drafted for two months' service at Providence; he says: "I sent one gun and bayonet, five blankets, one knapsack, and one cartridge box."

In another place, the estimated value of these articles are set down at £5, 6s., 6d.

This Journal also confirms the collateral testimony, that additional money was frequently raised from private sources, and in the religious societies. Under date of November, 1777, we find the following memorandum:

We* raised by contribution for the widows and soldiers' wives, &c., £62, 16s., 9½d.

The Church [St. Paul's] raised £18, 2s., 9½d.

At Mr. Spring's Parish, £44, 2s.

At Parson's Parish, 16th, £68, 15s., 1½d.

Total, £193, 16s., 8½d.

In 1778 the town paid to Jacob Khun ten shillings, for spending two days and a half in collecting blankets for the army.

Horses were also given up by their owners for the use of the army; of several of these we have seen the written evidence; and the depreciated state of the currency is told in the appraisal of these animals. Colonel Edward Wigglesworth's† was valued at £1000, and others still higher.

For the arms and other accoutrements supplied by the town to the volunteer companies, receipts were received, and the promise of reimbursement, if not returned at the expiration of the war; but many were lost, and the men were frequently unable to make good their value. The following is a specimen of such agreements, and is preserved in the files of the town, endorsed on the back, "Receipt for Guns for Captain Titcomb's Company, July, 1780."

* Probably Mr. Cary's Society, of which he was a member.

† For an interesting account of Colonel Wigglesworth's revolutionary services, see Biographical Notice.

"We the subscribers do acknowledge to have received, respectively, this fourth day of July, 1780, of the town of Newburyport, a good French firelock, with a bayonet compleat, which we promise and engage to return in good order to said town, at the expiration of our service, or pay to the said town the sum of £100 lawful money."

Here follow the names of forty-two men.

This company were paid by the town for three and five months' service at West Point and Rhode Island.

Barnabas Edmonds received £2, 17s., "for warring nine days and a half, from the year '75 to '78."

An endorsement on the back of this bill explains this extensive "warring" of said Edmonds to have been only "trainings."

Among the bills on the town, we find one "for sheets, for bandages, for the campaign of 1778."

By the enlisting paper, containing the names of the volunteers from this town, for the State service in Rhode Island, in July, 1781, we learn that they agreed to provide themselves with "musket, blanket and accoutrements."

Occasionally, arms delivered by the town were returned.

Jacob Willard, of Captain Perkins's Company, who was supplied with a gun in 1775, returned it to the town two years after.

Short supplies, by the commissariat of the United States, obliged the towns to make up the deficiency, and trust to future payment.

Newburyport, not possessing any large agricultural district, was not always able to supply the demands of the provincial and continental armies, for provisions. In some instances these requisitions were met by the offer of their equivalent in money, and in others the town was obliged to purchase from other towns, for the purpose of complying. Contractors in Portsmouth furnished to the town part of the quota of beef required of Newburyport, for the use of the army.

In an account of Jonathan Call's (town clerk) "for supplying the families of sundry old continental soldiers, in 1778," we find a great preponderance of "pork and molasses." Such a town account may have fallen at some time into the hands of the enemy, which originated the slander, firmly believed to this day, in some parts of the British provinces, that "these delectable articles were usually eaten together by the Yankees"!

During the first year of the war, enlistments being made for but short periods, discharged and newly enlisted soldiers were continually traversing the country, returning from, or going to join, the main divisions of the army; and as the pay of the continental soldiers was continually in arrear, from the inability of Congress to meet the demands on the treasury, it would often happen that wounded and destitute soldiers, thus discharged, became burdens on the towns in their route towards home. Among the bills on file belonging to the town of Newburyport, we find one against the town of York, for the temporary support of one Paul Preble, who belonged to Colonel Wigglesworth's regiment when stationed at Ticonderoga in 1776, "for nursing, necessary supplies, and carrying him home." The town was reimbursed by the selectmen of Mr. Preble's native place, in the sum of £2, 16s., 6d.

A bundle of receipts from poor continental soldiers, who were thus assisted with money to make their way home, is superscribed by the town clerk of Newburyport in 1780, as follows: "Receipts for money advanced to sundry continental soldiers, to be paid by the United States, *when we can get it.*"

Among those drafted in 1777, from this town, was a company in August, who was joined by Lieut. Amos Pearson, whose gallant conduct at Bunker Hill we have before noticed; from the journal which he kept, we find that he was actively engaged during the whole campaign, and participated in the action which preceded the surrender of General Burgoyne.

Having left Newburyport on the 23d of August, he marched for twenty successive days without halting for any rest except at night; sleeping sometimes in the woods, sometimes in a barn, and sometimes in a log-house, when he encamped at sunset within ten miles of Gate's army. Here he received orders to join the army with his company, before he slept, and resuming their march through Seabrook, Ct., they crossed the river, and joined the army at 3 o'clock in the morning. Soon after he was sent out with a scouting party, and brought in thirty prisoners; and five days after, assisted in the memorable engagement of the 7th of October, of which he says: "The field-pieces began at four o'clock, and the musketry at five — very hot some of the time — drove the enemy within the lines, killed, wounded and took a great number of them, and ten field-pieces."

It will be remembered that a number of skirmishes took place between the troops of Gates and Burgoyne, preceding the capture of the latter. This engagement of the 7th of October, which Lieut. Pearson modestly states in two or three lines, was a battle of the greatest importance, and one in which the greatest bravery was displayed on both sides; night terminated the conflict, but the advantage was with the Americans. The enemy retreating to the heights of Saratoga, step by step they were pursued and finally surrounded, prisoners were made daily, and having no hope of escape, the whole army, for which had been arranged such grand exploits, surrendered. The Journal says, "At 12 o'clock, the General (Burgoyne,) marched into our lines, and in the afternoon, all their troops, after laying down their arms, supposed to be six thousand in the whole." From this campaign, Lieut. Pearson brought home a fine English musket from the mass laid down by Burgoyne's troops, which still remains, with some other trophies of the war, in the hands of his family.

On the 23d, Lieut. Pearson marched with a fatigue party to Stillwater after the enemy's wounded, and on his return, was ordered to draw three days' provisions and follow the regiment down the river. After a tedious march and exposure in open boats, during a soaking rain, wading through creeks and over flats, he reached White Plains on the 11th of November, and there encamped, but not to rest. Several false alarms called out his party, in consequence of which he went to Tarrytown and New Rochelle with his men, taking on these expeditions a few of the enemy's men, and bringing them into camp. But once, in the course of the Journal, does Lieut. Pearson intimate that he indulged in any but the ordinary fare of the army. On Sunday, November 30th, on his return home, he records the unusual treat of dining "on fresh pork steaks, mince pie and cheese," and then marched 19 miles and put up at Bedford." For the next seven days successively, he marched, on an average, nearly twenty-seven miles, and arrived at Newburyport, the 9th of December, having been absent nearly four months, and like thousands of our worthy continentalers, quietly resumed his business, (that of a house carpenter,) *the very next day* after his arrival. He lived to the age of 90. Such was our citizen soldiery of the Revolution.

During the winter of 1777-8, some eighty non-commissioned officers and privates formed themselves into a company under Capt.

Thomas Thomas, and in July, following, armed only with muskets, marched as volunteers in the expedition to Rhode Island, the garrisons of which had been in possession of the British since 1776. While on their march to Rhode Island they received from the State, two 4 lb. field-pieces; which, after the peace, (1793,) were exchanged for two brass six-pounders. Various exchanges were made, till in 1844 the company received those they now possess. This volunteer corps was the basis of the Artillery Company (now Cushing Guard,) still existing in Newburyport.

The expedition to Rhode Island, failed, as it will be remembered, for want of the anticipated coöperation of the Count d'Estaing; yet this company, uninfected by the despair which induced so many* of Sullivan's army to move off as soon as they learned of the failure of the fleet, continued in service to the end of the campaign.

In the midst of these troubles, when requisitions were constantly being made for men and provisions, by the Continental Congress and the General Court, the school interests and the schoolmasters were not neglected. It was during this period that a standing school committee, to be elected annually, was established, and in April (1780) we find a vote recorded, "that the schoolmasters' salaries be raised in proportion to the rise of mechanics' wages, taking their salary in 1774 to be the standard." The town also, by accepting of the school committee's report, granted the scholars *two whole weeks* for vacation, and *Saturday afternoons*,† but no public days.

But the old master who had taught school for so many successive years, Master Sewall, was growing old. Through a long life he had taught, — and, ever since the separation of the towns, in Newburyport, — and had sent forth numerous successive classes, which witnessed to *his* efficiency, by their own. The old man was first awakened to the fact that other people were so short-sighted as to imagine he needed any assistance in his duties, by the appointment of an usher "to aid Master Sewall in the South school." This was

* Allen's Hist. Am. Rev.

† Not till September, 1782, were they allowed *Thursday* afternoons, afterwards changed to Wednesday.

a division of his former empire, that he could ill brook, but he bore with it for some months, unwilling to desert the scene to which he had become so perfectly habituated. By the appointment of an assistant, it was hoped that he would be induced to resign; but he seems in this respect to have resembled his great cotemporary, Franklin, in the latter part, if not the whole of his maxim on that subject—"never to solicit an office, and never to resign one." So, after waiting a reasonable time, the sceptre was taken from his unwilling hands and transferred to his usher and successor, Mr. Norton. But what was the old man to do now? he felt uneasy and restless; accustomed to the drowsy hum of conning tasks, and the sight of rows of urchins at their desks, he could not sit quietly at home, stripped of his usual employment, or betake himself to other occupation. He opened a school in his own house, where at least he might have the privilege of teaching those whom otherwise the town rejected. A regulation concerning the schools provided "that none should be admitted to the town schools, unless they could read plainly in words of two syllables, without spelling." Such were, however, permitted to go to Master Sewall, the town allowing him a small stipend, more in the form of a pensioner, it would seem, than as a teacher. Master Sewall was a man of unexceptionable character, as a teacher faithful, as long as his powers of mind continued unimpaired; upright in all that related to his fellow-men, and a consistent Christian; systematic and thorough in his discipline, without severity, he had the love, as well as the respect of his scholars. He had too a rich vein of humor in his composition, which rendered him an entertaining companion. Writing on one occasion to a friend in England, describing among other things his school, he said "it was in an exceedingly flourishing condition, as he had in it a *million* and eighty-three scholars!" In a postscript, it appeared in explanation, that the name of one of the boys was Million.

When speaking of schools, however, previous to this time and for many years after, we must be understood as referring to boys' schools only. So far as the education of females by the town was concerned, they were sadly deficient. As late as 1790, a proposition to provide schools for girls, was put aside without action by the town, and deferred for another year; and when they did set about the work, it is curious to note of how little consequence they

considered it, as compared with the provision to be made for boys. First, three or four schools were suggested for girls between five and nine years of age, which were to be furnished with "*dames to learn them good manners, and proper decency of behavior*;" these were the ESSENTIALS, but in addition, they were to be taught spelling and reading, sufficient to be able to read the Bible; and if the parents desired it, "*needlework and knitting*;" the sessions of the schools to be but six months, from April to October. It is to be feared that in the interval, their stock of "*behavior*," as well as spelling, must have become wellnigh exhausted. But a movement having been made by some of the larger souls, on behalf of the girls, and a petition being presented to the town, that some arrangement might be made for the instruction of girls over nine years of age, the town graciously voted, in March, 1792, that during the summer months, "*when the boys in the schools had diminished*," that the master should receive girls for instruction in Grammar and Reading, "*after the dismissal of the boys, for one hour and a half*." And even to this poor privilege there were limitations, — no person paying a tax for over £300 was permitted to send his daughters to these supplementary schools.

The younger girls and boys were afterwards taught together; the schools being somewhat on the plan of our present Mixed Primary Schools. But the scheme for the larger girls did not work well for the boys — so it was given up. The masters were directed, "*not to teach females again, and to keep the usual time*." As late as 1804, we find the female children, over nine, a great burden on the hands of the school committee and the town. The device in that year, was not much superior to that of earlier times. In answer to another petition, from eleven persons, that this class of girls might be taught by the town arithmetic and writing, four girls' schools were established, to be kept six months in the year, *from 6 to 8 o'clock, in the morning*, and on Thursday afternoons; so that in addition to their other accomplishments, they were now in a fair way of being taught *early rising*. It was left to a comparatively recent period, and another generation, to do themselves and the town the honor of establishing female schools in Newburyport, which will favorably compare with the best in the State. But it was not till 1836 that the school committee even recommended "*that one female grammar school be kept through the year*."

In May of 1780 occurred that memorable dark day which extended its heavy shadows from Casco Bay in Maine, to Danbury in Connecticut, and was observed much farther south. The continuance and intensity of this darkness, was a phenomenon which was not accounted for at the time, and has never since received a satisfactory solution. For some days previously, the air had been unusually thick, and the sun consequently somewhat obscured, but not sufficiently so to create alarm. On the morning of this long remembered day, the sun rose as usual, but became gradually overcast, the clouds were observed to rise fast, and hurriedly to crowd toward the east, a little northerly. In this vicinity some thick woods were on fire, the smoke from which, rising, and mingling with the clouds, produced a most gloomy effect, and though there was but little wind at this time, the impression was, that a hurricane was about to burst upon the town ; while some, ever looking for supernatural evils, were overcome with fears, lest the consummation of all things was at hand. At 11 o'clock, the darkness thickened, and from twelve to one o'clock, at mid-day, it was so intensely dark, that some men, who were working on a ship, at the lower yard, sent for lanterns, by which they might be able to continue at work ; the contractors having more dread of breaking their word in regard to the day of its completion, than they had of the gathering blackness. Candles were generally lighted through the town, and the feathered race retired to their usual roosts, while occasionally a cock, with mistaken self-sufficiency, announced the break of day, as here and there a gleam of light penetrated the surrounding gloom. The sky was not continuously black ; a glimmer of light was discernible at the horizon, and at times the sky assumed a reddish-yellow tinge ; the darkness however, continued into the night until about 12 o'clock, when a wind from the north-west drove away the clouds, and the next morning, man and nature revived once more under the cheering beams of the unclouded sun.

But darker than the dark day, was the transaction which a few months later sullied the page of American History for 1780. The traitor Arnold, the following September, consummated his intended treachery by flight from West Point ; an incident that we should not have introduced into this volume, had it not so happened that in the

barge which conveyed him to the British ship "Vulture," were two members of Capt. Richard Titcomb's company, enlisted in Newburyport the preceding July.

The pay roll of this company shows a list of sixty-one names, including the officers, and among them are Samuel Pillsbury and John Brown, who were, at the time of Arnold's escape, on duty at the barge. After having reached the deck of the "Vulture," and had a brief interview with the officers on board, the arch-traitor turned to the bargemen, and said, "My lads, I have quitted the *rebel army*, and joined the standard of his Britannic Majesty; if you will join me, I will make Sergeants and Corporals of you all." But his infamous offer had no influence on the honest patriots in the barge,—but two, *British deserters*,* remained with him. That neither one of Capt. Titcomb's men was seduced by his offers, is proved by the pay roll,† which shows them to have been honorably discharged at West Point, October 9th of the same year.

In 1780 the continental money had driven nearly all the gold and silver out of circulation; and these notes depreciated so fast, prices rising in consequence, that the whole monetary affairs of the country were disarranged, and in speaking of any given sums appropriated by the town at this period, it is necessary to distinguish between the money employed, whether coin or bills. In the payment of bounties, the town was frequently obliged to guarantee the payment in *silver* or *gold*, the continental money having depreciated so much as to become almost valueless.‡ An eloquent writer§ says, "that in some parts of the country, a month's pay for a soldier would not buy a bushel of wheat for his family; and the pay of a colonel would scarcely find oats for his horse."

Thus when we find the town voting to raise "sixty thousand pounds for the current expenses of the year,"|| and that "three hundred pounds per month, (additional to the State's pay,) be given each

* "Revolutionary Annals," p. 473. "Warren's Hist. Am. Rev.," Vol. 2, p. 269.

† A copy of which we have in our possession.

‡ As an illustration, the Marine Society of Newburyport, by a vote in November, 1780, agreed that members should pay for their monthly dues, "*eight dollars* in paper, or *eight pence* in hard money."

§ Ramsay.

|| Town Records, June 12, 1780.

man who will enlist for *three months*," and that four hundred and fifty pounds be *advanced* to every such person; and a few weeks later, voting to raise by assessment on the polls and estates of the inhabitants, seventy-five thousand pounds; and again in October another town tax of seventy-five thousand pounds; at the same time, authorizing the treasurer to *hire* a sum "not more than one hundred thousand pounds,"—we are not to conclude that these appropriations were of the value which such figures would indicate at the present day. By consulting the "scale of depreciation," for any particular year, the value of the continental money,* as compared with gold or silver, may readily be found. Still these taxes, when paid in paper, were onerous enough, and show, if anything can, that the resistance of the people to taxation, was not from love of money, but from principle. Great Britain never taxed the people of America to a fraction of the extent to which they afterwards *taxed themselves*.

Newburyport early engaged in privateering, by which for awhile, her merchants retrieved the losses they had voluntarily encountered by agreeing to the Non-importation Act, by which their staple business of building ships for the British was destroyed. But eventually, little was gained, the size of the vessels being ill adapted to cope with the heavy ships of the British navy. Many of them, after successful and daring cruises, were finally captured; while many more became a prey to the elements. The clearances of twenty-two vessels are recorded as having left Newburyport, with a thousand or more men who never returned, and of whose fate we are still ignorant; probably many of them were wrecked, or foundered at sea; but it is highly probable that some of them were burned or wantonly sunk by the British cruisers, not deeming them of sufficient consequence, or perhaps being unable to record their names. This was done in some instances we know, and may account for the silence and mystery which still hang over the final fate of hundreds of these brave fellows.

* The continental bills were of the size of half an ordinary bank bill of the present day, being nearly square, and were of various denominations, commonly from one to thirty dollars, several values being used that are now discarded; as six, eight, &c. They were mostly impressed with some appropriate motto in Latin, as, "The oppressed rise." "By perseverance we conquer." "In *THEE*, Lord, have I trusted." After the return to a better currency, it was not unusual to see a handful of these bills given to children to play with.

Of this unfortunate class was the "Yankee Hero," a privateer of about eighteen guns, commanded by James Tracy, for some time successful; but on one of her cruises she encountered the British frigate Milford, a heavy vessel, much too superior in force to have been *voluntarily* engaged. Captain Tracy was forced into this action by the mistaken opinions and earnest wishes of his officers, who on observing the Milford at a distance, took her to be a Jamaica merchantman, and obstinately insisted on giving chase, against the opinion of Captain Tracey, who recognized the vessel as the Milford. But failing to convince his officers, at their earnest entreaties he consented to make sail for her, and when the frigate in her true colors was revealed to the satisfaction of all, it was too late to retreat; and notwithstanding her immense superiority, Captain Tracy engaged her, and fought desperately for two hours before he surrendered.

On being exchanged, and returning home, he was furnished with another privateer of the same name, and of twenty guns, manned with one hundred and seventy men, including some fifty young volunteers from the first families of Newburyport and vicinity. She sailed from the port, and vessel, officers, nor crew, were ever heard of more.

Another of these unfortunate privateers was the "America," (belonging to Joseph Marquand,) which was lost on her second cruise, no tidings of her or any of her crew having ever been received. In this vessel was lost Cutting Lunt,* one of the released prisoners from the Old Mill Prison.

The first privateer fitted out in the United States, sailed from this port, and was owned by Nathaniel Tracy, Esq., (a relative of Captain James Tracy of the "Yankee Hero,") the first of whose fleet sailed in August, 1775. From that time to 1783, Mr. Tracy was the principal owner of 110 merchant vessels, having an aggregate tonnage of 15,660, which with their cargoes were valued at \$2,733,300. Twenty-three of the above vessels were letters-of-marque, and mounted 298 carriage guns, and registered 1,618 men. Of this 110 sail, but 13 were left at the end of the war, all the rest were taken by the enemy or lost. During this same period, Mr.

* See Biographical sketch of the Lunt family.

Tracy was also the principal owner of 24 cruising ships, the combined tonnage of which was 6,330, carrying 340 guns, six, nine and twelve pounders, and navigated by 2,800 men. When it is considered that these were *in addition* to the letter-of-marque vessels, it exhibits Mr. Tracy rather as a naval, than a "merchant prince." But of these 24 cruisers, only one remained at the close of the war. But they had not been idle, nor were they ignobly surrendered. These ships captured from the enemy 120 sail, amounting to 23,360 tons; which, with their cargoes, were sold for *three million nine hundred and fifty thousand specie dollars*; — (one hundred and sixty-seven thousand two hundred and nineteen dollars, Mr. Tracy devoted to the army, and other public demands;) — and with these prizes were taken 2,225 men, prisoners of war.*

Many of these privateers were vessels of small burden and but poorly armed; yet, judging of the spirit which animated their crews by those of whom record or tradition has preserved accounts, we may judge their valor was worthy of being displayed on broader decks. The master of one of the first which sailed from the *Merri-mac*, the "Game Cock," a sloop of about twenty-five tons, and carrying only four swivels, in accordance with the usual practice of the times, (not yet totally discontinued,) before putting to sea sent up a note to be read from the pulpit, asking the prayers of the church that he "might be preserved in his attempt to *scour the coast* of our unnatural enemies!"† Yet this, with others still smaller and less fully armed, made some notable captures, principally of merchant vessels; but these, being generally armed, were often formidable antagonists. The first prize brought into Newburyport was the British brig *Sukey*, of ninety tons, bound to Boston with provisions. She was taken by the privateer *Washington*. The second was a transport, and its capture was one of the most daring achievements of this period. The circumstances were as follows:

The ship "Friends," Captain Bowie, of London, bound to Boston with provisions to the British army there, having got out of her course,

* The above account is taken from a memorial addressed to Congress, by a gentleman who was part owner and concerned with Mr. Tracy. It was published at the time of the application to Congress, in the New York papers, and re-published in the Newburyport Herald, December 4, 1826.

† Coffin.

appeared on the morning of January 15th off the "Bar," tacking on and off as if uncertain of her position. Her manœuvres being noticed by several gentlemen of Newburyport, they rightly conjectured that she had lost her bearings, and immediately planned a scheme for her capture. Arming themselves, and taking three whale-boats, they proceeded down the river under the command of Captain Offin Boardman, who, on the boats arriving within speaking distance, hailed the ship, inquiring "where she was bound," and "where she hailed from." The Captain replied, "From London, bound to Boston," and then asked what land it was in sight, and where the boats came from. Mr. Boardman replied, "We are from Boston; do you want a pilot?" and his offer being accepted by the unsuspecting stranger, the ship was hove to, and Captain Boardman soon stood on the quarter deck of the "Friends." He carried no arms in sight, and after shaking hands with the Captain, entered into conversation with him, asking the news from London, &c., while his companions from the three boats, seventeen in all, quietly mounted the ship's gangway, and now stood guard by the same. Seeing they were all ready, Captain Boardman threw off his assumed character of pilot, and to the astonishment and chagrin of the late master, ordered the English flag to be struck, and neither crew nor commander making any resistance, the order was instantly executed. The ship had four carriage guns, and a crew of about the same number as the captors, but taken wholly by surprise, and at the moment unprepared, they fell an easy prey to the shrewd management of the little party; though it must be confessed that three boats in company, containing seventeen men, might reasonably have been suspected of carrying others than pilots. The names of this party have not all been preserved; but in addition to Captain Boardman, we have learned that Mr. William Bartlett, Enoch Hale, John Coombs, Joseph Stanwood, Gideon Woodell, Johnson and Cutting Lunt, were of the number.

Thus by a stratagem the morality of which one of the party afterwards seriously questioned,* a valuable ship and cargo was secured, and in the course of a few hours brought up to the wharf, when she was found to contain fifty-two chaldrons of coal, eighty-

* William Bartlett, Esq. See Biographical Notice.

six butts and thirty hogsheads of porter, twenty hogsheads of vinegar, and sixteen hogsheads of sourkroust, besides live stock, for which the British troops in Boston were at that moment suffering.

The capture about this time of several vessels laden with supplies for the troops in Boston, was the occasion of much distress to the army there. The country people of the suburbs could not be induced to supply them at any price, their patriotism rising superior to every temptation, except in a few instances, and thus their only dependence was on supplies from abroad, and when these were cut off their case became desperate, and no doubt precipitated the evacuation of the city.

Among the small privateers was the "General Ward," Captain William Russell, which with about a dozen men, with a musket apiece, and one not very heavy swivel, captured two brigs and a schooner. Having such a small crew, Captain Russell could spare but two men to put on board the schooner, which was unfortunately retaken, but the brigs were brought safely into town.

October 30, 1778, William Springer, with Joseph and Samuel Brookings, officers of the private armed schooner "Hornet," sent to the care of the selectmen of Newburyport four Frenchmen whom they had taken from on board the English brigantine Success, bound to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. These Frenchmen had been taken by the "Success" from on board a ship coming from Spain to the United States, they having at the time a permit from the State of Massachusetts to go to St. John's and return. They were not, of course, considered prisoners of war.

The privateer schooner Hawk, Captain Lee, (commonly called "Jack Lee,") in 1778 captured and sent in, among other prizes, an English brig from Oporto, bound to England, loaded with wine, a large amount of specie dollars, bullion, and gold dust. The prize was anchored at Greenleaf's wharf, and when the officers were going on shore, some of the gold was found to be missing, and several of the sailors were imprisoned on the charge of embezzling it; but were subsequently released from the charge, though the gold was not found. Long and frequent searches were instituted in the neighborhood of the wharf, but without success, and the lost gold was almost forgotten. But forty-two years after, in June of 1820,

a boy, searching in the dock for a lost eel-pot, hooked up a bag of gold weighing eighteen ounces, the only portion ever recovered of this long-lost treasure.

The "Hibernia," of Newburyport, Captain John O'Brien, was very successful in her first cruise, capturing three brigs, a ship, and two schooners in less than four weeks after she sailed. In this cruise she met with a sixteen-gun ship, with which she had an engagement which lasted nearly two hours, but from which she finally escaped with the loss of but three men and some wounded.

Many interesting incidents connected with naval adventurers from this port are preserved in a journal kept by Captain Moses Brown,* who in August, 1778, started on a cruise in the privateer "General Arnold." Captain Brown had but recently returned from one of his many mercantile voyages, and "finding the country all in arms, unloaded and took off her upper decks, and put eighteen six-pounders on her, fitting her for a privateer." On this cruise he says: "The first gun that was fired burst,† and killed or wounded all my officers; returned to Newburyport again, proved my guns, and burst four more of them; got new ones, and sailed again in August; cruised three months and took a brig, which was retaken, and returned in November."

The journal continues: "In February I sailed on a third cruise in the General Arnold. After cruising four months, taking several prizes, and fighting some warm battles, I was captured in June by His Majesty's ship Experiment, of fifty guns, Sir James Wallace commander." When Captain Brown was received on the deck of

* See Biographical Notice.

† By this accident an Irishman on board was severely wounded, and believing his injury to be fatal, he sent word to Captain Brown that he wished to speak to him. Captain Brown went below to ascertain what his request might be, when the man told him that he knew he was going to die, and begged that he might not be "thrown overboard like a dog, but might have prayers read over him." Captain Brown, after failing to inspire him with any hope that he would recover, assented to his request, saying, "Very well, Mr. — shall read prayers for you." "No, faith," says the man, "thin I'll not die! Mr. — shall never read prayers over me." Captain Brown then promised he would read them himself, when a gleam of satisfaction stole over the features of the honest Hibernian, as he exclaimed, "God bless ye Captain! *thin I'll die directly!*"

the *Experiment* by Sir James Wallace, he was asked by this British officer "if he was the captain of that rebel ship," when Captain Brown replied, "I was very lately—you are now," at the same time offering Sir James Wallace his sword; when Sir James, struck with his manly reply and noble appearance, refused to take it, saying, "I never take a sword from a brave man!" Afterwards, inviting Captain Brown into his cabin, and entering into conversation over a glass of wine on the affairs of the two countries, Sir James proposed a toast—"George the Third, and the Royal Family!" It was rather hard to take, but Captain Brown swallowed it without remark, when Sir James called on him for another, thinking, probably, from his acquiescence in the first, that he would offer something in the same strain. But rising with dignity, and unawed by his position as a prisoner, Captain Brown gave in return, "George Washington, the Commander-in-chief of the American forces!" The glass, which Sir James had raised to his lips, was set down again, as he asked, "Do you mean to insult me, sir, in my own ship, by proposing the name of that arch-rebel?" "No," replied Captain Brown, "if there was any insult, it was by your giving George the Third, which, however, I did not hesitate to drink, though you must have known it could not have been agreeable to me, who at this moment am a *guest*, though a prisoner." Sir James, perceiving that if there was any wrong, or breach of etiquette, he had led the way in it, like an honorable man, suppressed his anger, and actually drank to the health of the "arch-rebel," Washington. Being carried by the *Experiment* into Madeira, Captain Brown was from thence sent to Savannah, in Georgia, where he was for sometime confined on board a prison-ship, but was exchanged, and in November returned to Newburyport.

The following account of some particulars of this cruise, before his capture, will not be read without interest. It is from the journal of Thomas Greely, one of the officers of the *Arnold*. Under date of March 28, 1779, being off St. Michael's, he says:

"Sunday, at 6, A. M., bore S. S. E. Distant nine or ten miles, saw a sail under St. Michael's, which gave us chase. At 10 she came up with us, and proved to be the British ship "*Gregson*," a Liverpool privateer, mounting twenty twelve-pounders and one hundred and eighty men. After an action of two hours and fifteen minutes, she sheered off and made sail; but we could not come up with her, as

our spars, rigging, and sails were much cut up; her loss unknown, but from appearance it must have been deplorable indeed." [She lost her first lieutenant and seventeen men killed, and a number wounded, as was afterwards published in an English newspaper, which stated "that she had the battle with a *rebel frigate* of thirty-two guns, and beat her off!!"] * . * "April 4th, took the ship 'William,' Captain John Gregory, from Gibraltar, bound to New York; put Mr. Samuel Robinson on board as prize-master. April 19th, anchored in Corunna, in Spain, refitting till May 19th; at 9, A. M., sailed from Corunna. May 20th, off Cape Finisterre S. W. eight leagues. At 6, A. M., saw a sail and gave chase. Came up with her at 8, A. M. She proved to be the ship *Nanny*, of Liverpool, Thomas Beynon, master, mounting sixteen six-pounders. After an action of an hour she struck, but having many shot between wind and water, she soon after sunk; we having our fore-yard cut away, and the mainmast and rigging much damaged. May 29th, put Captain Beynon and two other prisoners on board a Spanish brig bound for Cadiz. May 30th, took the brig *Despatch*, from Antigua for Oporto. Put Samuel Burbank in prize-master, and sent her to Corunna. June 1st, took a snow,* laden with fish, from Newfoundland, for Oporto, called the 'George,' — Willicot, master. June 4th, Friday, was captured by His Britannic Majesty's ship, *Experiment*, fifty guns, Sir James Wallace, commander. So ends our cruise.

THOMAS GREELY, Sailing Master."

The following is the other side of the story, relating to the capture of the *Nanny*, being a copy of a letter from Captain Thomas Beynon to his owners, dated Cadiz, June 2, 1779:

"The following are the particulars of an engagement we had with the General Arnold, Captain Moses Brown, of eighteen six-pounders, and one hundred men, on the 20th of May, off Cape Finisterre. Saw a ship in chase of us, and being resolved to know her weight of metal before I gave up your property, I prepared to make the best defence I could. Between 8 and 9 o'clock he came alongside with American colors, and three fire-pots out, one on each fore-yard

* Snows being almost obsolete, we may be excused for describing them. They were vessels equipped with two masts, resembling the main and fore-masts of a ship, and a third small mast, just abaft the mainmast, carrying a try-sail.

arm, and one at his jib-boom end. Hailed and told me to haul down my colors. I desired him to begin and blaze away, for I was determined to know his force before I gave up to him. The battle began and lasted two hours, our ships being close together, having only room to keep clear of each other. Our guns told well on both sides. We were soon left destitute of rigging and sails, as I engaged under topsails and jib. We were shattered below and aloft. I got the Nanny before the wind and fought an hour that way, one pump going till we had seven feet of water in the hold. I thought it then almost time to give up the battle, as our ship was a long time in recovering her sallies, and began to be water-logged. We were so close that I told him I had struck, and hauled down my colors. The privateer was in a shattered condition; his fore-yard shot away in the slings and lying on her forecastle, and a piece out of his mainmast, so that he could make no sail till it was fixed; all his running rigging entirely gone, and a great part of his shrouds and back-stays. None of his sails escaped except his mainsail. By the time we were all out of the Nanny, the water was up to her lower deck. When Captain Brown heard the number of men I had, he asked me 'what I meant by engaging him so long.' I told him I was then his prisoner, and hoped he would not call me to any account for what I had done before the colors were hauled down. He said he approved of all I had done, and treated my officers and myself like gentlemen, and my people as his own. There was then a fleet in sight, and three ships in chase of the privateer. She was so much disabled, a frigate soon came up with her, which proved a French convoy of sixty-eight sail, under eight sail of the line, besides frigates outward bound, steering about S. W. I had only two men wounded with splinters. The cook, I believe, was drowned, as he never came on board the privateer. Nothing was saved but the ensign, and that full of holes; for we received sixty dozen musket cartridges from their marines by their own account, besides some from their tops. The privateer had six men wounded, and is the same that fought the Gregson, of Liverpool. I was put on board a Spanish brig, and arrived at Cadiz on the 2d June.

THOMAS BRYNON."

But it was not only in vessels of their own construction, and under Newburyport officers, that the young men of this vicinity

were found fighting the battles of their country. With Paul Jones and other naval heroes, volunteers from Newburyport might be found on almost every wave-crest of the ocean.

We find, by the journal of Thomas Greely, who sailed with Captain Brown in the "Arnold," that he was afterwards with J. Paul Jones at the time of his engagement with a British ship of thirty guns, Captain John Grey commanding. (Jones's vessel carried but twenty guns.) The extract relating to this action is as follows:

"Moderate breeze at S. and smooth sea, all sail set. Saw a large ship to the westward, bearing down upon us; we took her to be a British ship. She came up with us in four hours, and fired a broadside, which cut away our mizzenmast and killed four men; we returned it again and fought till the blood ran out of their scuppers; she then struck her colors, after four hours' engagement. We had fourteen men killed and seven wounded; the British had forty killed and seventeen wounded. All hands employed in throwing the dead overboard and cleaning up the blood; took a reef in the mainsail and bore away for Baltimore, with our prize in company.

"THOMAS GREELY."

The date of this engagement is not given, nor the name of the prize.

But while some of our fellow citizens were bravely fighting the enemy on the lakes, some on the ocean and some on land, there were many, unfortunate in their first encounters with the enemy, wasting away their lives in the English prisons and prison-ships. Of this class, were the entire crews of two privateers from Newburyport. These were the brig "Dalton," (fitted out by Stephen Hooper,) and the brigantine "Fancy;" many of these men spending between two and three years in the famous "Old Mill Prison," in Plymouth, England. Among the crew of the former, was a youth named Charles Herbert, a native of Newburyport, not 19 years old at the time of his capture, who through all the disadvantages of the scenes through which he passed managed to keep a nearly daily record of the events. He was restored to liberty, with others, after an imprisonment of nearly three years, by the efforts of Benjamin Franklin, then in France, who negotiated an exchange of prisoners. After the peace, Mr. Herbert carried on the business of a blockmaker on the Upper Long Wharf (Patch's,) in this place, where he

continued to reside till his death in 1808. His journal has been published, and from it we have taken copious extracts, relating to the treatment of the prisoners, facts, and referring to many well known citizens of Newburyport.*

The following is a list of the prisoners taken in the Dalton, belonging to Newburyport, and committed to Mill Prison, Plymouth, England, June, 1777:

Captain Eleazer Johnston, †	Joseph Rocklief,
1st Lieutenant Ant. Knapp, †	William Shuckford, **
2d Lieutenant John Buntin,	John Key, †
Daniel Lunt, †	John Barrenger, †
Alexander Ross, †	— Stickney,
Offin Boardman, †	Joseph Poor,
Moses Cross,	Nathaniel Warner,
Thomas Cluston, †	Josiah George,
Cutting Lunt, ¶	Moses Merril,
Wym'd Bradbury,	Jacob True,
Henry Lunt, ¶	John George,
Samuel Cutler, †	Richard Lunt,
Francis Little,	Ebenezer Brown,
Joseph Asulier, †	Paul Noyes,
Joseph Brewster, ¶	Joseph Plummer,
Nathaniel Wyer, †	Reuben Tucker,
John Knowlton,	John Smith,
Charles Herbert, **	Henry Smith,
Joseph Choat, **	Ebenezer Edwards, **
Thomas Bailey, **	Jonathan Whitmore, §
Nathaniel Bailey, ¶	Edward Spooner, §
Benjamin Carr, **	Daniel Cottle, †
Samuel Woodbridge,	Ebenezer Hunt. †

In the brigantine Fancy, taken August 7th, 1777, and remaining in the Mill Prison, February 7th, 1779, were

Captain John Lee, †	John Bickford,
Daniel Lane,	William White.

* See Biographical Notice.

† Dead.

‡ Escaped.

§ Joined English man-of-war.

|| Died, or escaped before committed to prison.

¶ Sailed with Paul Jones.

** Sailed in the Alliance.

One historian says that the ship *Warren* from this port, Captain Timothy Newman, was taken by the English at this time, and that her captain, with forty-seven of his crew, died on ship-board. This could hardly be, as the *Warren*, which Captain Newman commanded, was not built till 1799, and consequently was not captured in 1777 or 1780, and the captain, as we shall show, did not die in England; there was a *schooner Warren*, taken in 1777, but she belonged to Salem, and her master's name was John Ravel; he did not die, but escaped.

We have fortunately the history of the *Warren*, Captain Newman, from Dr. Parke, the surgeon of the ship, who was attached to her during the whole of the time she remained in the United States service.

Dr. Parke says :

"The ship *Warren* was built at Salisbury, under the inspection of Capt. Nicholas Johnson, of Newburyport, and was launched on the 26th of September, 1799, and was taken immediately to Newburyport, to be fitted for sea. Captain Timothy Newman (who was a released Algerine captive) was appointed commander. I received my commission on the 3d of October, and forthwith joined the ship. We left Newburyport for Boston on the 24th of November, to receive her guns, stores, &c., and sailed for Havana on the 31st of December. A few days after, we heard the melancholy news of the death of Washington. Arrived at Havana in January, 1800, and sailed for Vera Cruz the ensuing June. From Vera Cruz we came back to Havana, where we anchored the 15th of August, 1800, and on the afternoon of the same day Captain Newman died.

"A Mr. Knapp, of Newburyport, was her 2d Lieutenant, and Mr. Jos. Whitmore, of Newburyport, was her Sailing Master.

"We returned to Boston, and the '*Warren*' was fitted for a second cruise, under Captain Jas. Barron. On the return from this cruise, Mr. Jefferson was President, and the *Warren* was ordered to be sold, and having had enough of the navy, I resigned. There is another *Warren* now in the navy."

From a journal kept on board the brigantine *Vengeance*, of Newburyport, Captain Wingate Newman, a privateer of some 350 or 400 tons, carrying 20 guns, which sailed on a cruise in the summer of 1778, we are enabled to make the following extracts; the writer was

Mr. Samuel Nye, a surgeon on board the *Vengeance*. It is principally interesting, as it relates to the capture of many officers and persons of political importance, whose exchange was the means of restoring many Americans to liberty.

"Sept. 17.—Lat. 49. Discovered a sail at 9 A. M., bearing E. N. E., 4 leagues distance; at 3 P. M. got within cannon shot of her; gave her two or three bow chasers, and received as many stern chasers from her; soon after which she hauled up her courses, and gave a broadside; but her guns being light, the shot did not reach; she then endeavored to get away by making sail again, but found it impracticable; she again lay to till we got within pistol shot of her, and then gave us another broadside, which was returned on our part, and to such purpose as to oblige her to strike at once, after having one man killed, and six wounded. She proved to be the ship '*Harriot-Packet*,' of 16 three-pounders, and 45 men, Sampson Sprague Commander, bound from Falmouth to New York, out fifteen days. Took the people on board our brig, and sent a prize-master and people on board the ship. * * * *

"Sept. 21st.—Lat. about 49. Discovered ourselves within a league of a sail; at 7 A. M., came up with and engaged her. She fought bravely fifteen or twenty minutes, and then struck, after having two of her people killed, and four or five wounded; one of them so badly I was obliged to amputate his leg. The prize proved to be the '*Eagle-Packet*,' a snow, — Spence, commander; from New York to Falmouth; out twenty-eight days, mounting twelve three-pounders, and having forty-three men, beside the following passengers: Col. Howard, of the 1st Regiment Guards, killed in the engagement; Col. McDonald, 71st Regiment Highlanders; Col. Anstruther; Col. Stevens, of the Guards; Maj. Barclay; Maj. Forbes; and the Hon. Maj. (afterwards Lord) Charles Cathcart, Capt. of the Athol, Highlanders, and 2d Major of Lord Cathcart's legion, and brother to Lord Cathcart; Mr. Sloper, cornet of horse, two sergeants, three or four servants, and Miss Jane Marsh. On board were some dry goods, besides plate and cash to a considerable amount. Got the prisoners on board our brig, and sent Mr. Thomas Newman, prize-master, and a gang of our people aboard, to repair her rigging. * * *

" * * * We had no person hurt, except Captain Newman, who received a musket ball in the thigh; wound not dangerous."

In the summer of 1779, the British having undertaken to establish a military post on the Penobscot, an attempt was made to prevent them, by sending a fleet, of such vessels as could be secured for the purpose, and a considerable number of men to the site. A schooner, the "Shark," was provisioned here in June for this service, and many men from Newburyport and the immediate vicinity, joined the expedition. The disastrous result is well known. A powerful British fleet appeared soon after the American vessels had entered the river, which completely defeated them. The officers abandoned their ships, and hundreds of the unfortunate men, sick and destitute, were found struggling through the then unbroken wilds of Maine, towards home. Some, natives of other towns, reached Newburyport in a wretched condition; and large supplies were made and forwarded by the town, "for the defeated army, and seamen of the eastward," while the stragglers who reached here were hospitably provided with necessary supplies, and money to enable them to reach their homes. Two of these men, "driven," as they expressed it, "from Penobscot in distress," received from the town treasury £80 each.

Some came by land, others by water; part of Col. Jackson's regiment (of Portsmouth) which was supposed to be lost, or taken prisoners, finally reached Newburyport by water; and an express was hired, at the expense of the town, to go to Portsmouth and inform the colonel of their safety.

Other towns also furnished natives of Newburyport, who belonged to the expedition, with entertainment; the town of Falmouth presented a bill to Newburyport "for provisions for people returning from *Pernopakot*."

A statement made by Captain Micajah Lunt, of this town, who joined this expedition, shows that if the officers were to blame in their management, some of the men, at least, were of the same undaunted stamp as those who, more fortunate, conquered the enemy they went to meet. Mr. Lunt says:*

"In the war of the Revolution, in the year 1779, I shipped in Newburyport on board the armed ship *Vengeance*, commanded by Thomas Thomas, in the expedition to Penobscot, which ship was driven up the river by the British fleet, and with others in the expedition, was burnt by order of the Commodore, to prevent them

* Papers of the late Wm. Woart, Esq.

falling into the hands of the British ; their crews took to the woods, and on foot found their way back to the province of Massachusetts. At my return, I again shipped on board the armed brig *Pallas*, commanded by William Knapp, from which vessel I was transferred to one of her prizes, a British ship, from Newfoundland bound to Lisbon, John Stone, of this town, prize-master. After having possession of her thirty days, we were taken by an English privateer schooner, from the Gut of Canso, which schooner had possession of the prize twenty days, when we were retaken by a French 74 gun ship and frigate, and carried into Cadiz in Spain, where I was liberated ; when I shipped on board the American armed ship 'Count d'Estaing,' commanded by Captain Proctor of Marblehead, (since dead ;) on our passage from Cadiz, when out thirty days, the Count d'Estaing was captured by two English letters-de-marque from Liverpool, called the 'Viper' and the 'Dick,' and carried to the island of St. Kitts, and [I was] thrown into prison, where after a lapse of about sixty days, I escaped from prison in company with Captain Green Pearson of this town, (since dead,) and got over to the island of St. Eustatia, where we shipped on board the armed brig 'Tom,' commanded by John Lee, of Newburyport, (since dead) bound to Newburyport. After being out ten or fifteen days, we were taken by the British frigate *Guadaloupe* and carried to New York, and myself, with others, thrown on board the 'Hunter' prison ship ; on board of which, I was on the *memorable dark day*, 19th May, 1780 ; from which I was exchanged and put on board a cartel ship, and sent to Boston, from whence I immediately returned to Newburyport, and shipped on board the private armed ship 'Intrepid,' commanded by Moses Brown, carrying twenty twelve-pound guns on the gun deck. From Newburyport we sailed to Boston, where we made up our crew of one hundred and twenty men ; thence sailed on a cruise, and went to L'Orient in France, where the ship was coppered and had a spar deck [put on.] We then took on board a *cargo of ammunition* and munitions of war, and sailed thence for the United States, and got into Baltimore, where, soon after our arrival, the cargo was discharged. I remained in the ship till the peace of 1783, when the ship was sold in the Island of Cuba. This ship was owned by Messrs. John and Nathaniel Tracy of this town, both since dead, and also her commander, Captain Moses Brown."

No attack having been attempted on the town, the selectmen were this year (1779,) authorized to sell the military stores accumulated here, and also all the cannon but two six-pounders. The piers which had been sunken in the river at an early period of the war, were not kept in repair, and gradually breaking up the timbers, floated ashore or out to sea, as the tides chanced to carry them. The men were withdrawn from Plum Island, (except three, who remained to take charge of the fort,) in the general anticipation that the negotiations going on would result in a treaty of peace; the warlike spirit gradually became less prominent, though drafts were supplied, as before, for the continental army. The treasurer was still authorized to receive in payment of taxes, "the dead continental money,"* which he was afterwards authorized to exchange for specie, at the rate of three for one, if he could make so good a bargain.

In 1779 we have the first intimation of the town's improving the streets by planting trees. March 9th, Nathaniel Tracy was empowered to plant trees on High street, where the old rope-walk stood.†

The town, under all the disadvantages of the times, continued to grow, and in 1781 the inconvenience arising from want of suitable building lots, induced several public-spirited gentlemen owning land in the vicinity, to give to the town "sufficient to lay out a regular, handsome street, four rods wide, half way between Fish and Queen streets," and thus Green street originated. The names of the donors were Nathaniel Tracy, Benjamin Greenleaf, Enoch, Joshua and Richard Titcomb, Stephen Sewall, Stephen and Mary Hooper, Nathaniel, Parker A., Stephen A., and Nathaniel Jr. Atkinson, and the guardians of the heirs of Benjamin Frothingham.

Ever alive to the value of the fisheries, the town in 1782 directed their representatives to the General Court, to procure an application to be made to Congress, "that they would give positive orders and instructions to their commissioners for negotiating a peace, to make *the right of the United States to the Fisheries, an indispensable article of treaty.*"‡

* As late as 1786, "two hundred and seventy old continental dollars" were reported as being in the Town Treasury.—*Town Records.*

† Near Frog pond.

‡ In 1787, "fish reeves," equivalent to our modern "inspectors," were appointed by the town.

When the peace came, and money resumed its natural value, we find that the town made provision, in some instances at least, to pay the debts they had incurred for the expenses of the war, "by giving the *real value* of the money borrowed, though the securities were given after the depreciation of the money."

For the eight years reckoning from the Battle of Lexington to the Proclamation of Peace, Newburyport raised for the extraordinary expenses of the town, the payment of bounties, and providing for all those exigencies that were dependent on the war, the enormous sum of £504,500. The usual current expenses of the town per annum, previous to the outbreak of hostilities, had been but £750, making (for the eight years) £498,500 to be set down as war expenses,—in dollars, 2,492,500; £17,000 or \$85,000 are specified as having been raised in gold or silver, and as some of the debts were also paid in coin, it is impossible to determine exactly what the real cost was; but when we consider that much was also done in providing provisions for the army, and clothing for soldiers, the sum becomes, considering the size and ability of the town, truly enormous.

The war had interfered with but one ecclesiastical interest in the town; the Congregational and Presbyterian societies remained intact, during the momentous political change through which the country had passed, but the Episcopal church was placed in a new and somewhat embarrassing position. During the war the *parish* connected with St. Paul's church, had sympathized with their countrymen, but the minister had, as far as was safe and practicable, stood aloof from the controversy, and showed a reluctance to assist the Revolutionary party, which* subjected him on one occasion, at least, to the insults of the populace. His parishioners obliged him to omit reading the prayers for the king, but did not and could not succeed in making him pray for the "rebels." On public fast days appointed by the Provincial Government, and when in accordance with official requests, seconded by his parishioners, he felt obliged to open his church, and even to have collections taken up in aid of the Revolutionary soldiers, he ever failed to add a word of persuasion,

* See Biographical Notice.

or to express any sympathy with the patriot cause. On one occasion, when desired to preach a sermon and have a collection taken up, "to aid in procuring clothing for the continental soldiers," he did indeed preach, but on some general subject, making no allusion to the particular object for which the congregation was convened. The collection was nevertheless made, and was not, we know, the only one which was taken in the church for similar purposes. His moderation and general estimable character, however, preserved to him, through these trying scenes, the respect and love of the best and most liberal part of the community; and on the close of the war he became identified with the American interest.

The Society in London under whose patronage he had been, declared his loyalty *necessarily* tainted by the fact that he *remained in Newburyport!*—a town, as they conceived, preëminently republican.* But the church in America was in a peculiar position; it had no civil head. Up to the period of the Declaration of Independence, it had remained an integral part of the Church of England, the church in Newburyport belonging to the Diocese of the Bishop of London. When, therefore, civilly dissevered, its organization was incomplete, being destitute of that order in the ministry by which holy orders were conveyed in regular succession. Candidates for the ministry of the church had hitherto proceeded to England for ordination, being there first ordained deacons, and then priests; but this was a process which could not be expected to continue. The whole difficulty was eventually removed by sending a minister of the church, Dr. Seabury, of Connecticut, to England to be consecrated as a bishop. This ordinance he received from the hands of the non-juring bishops of Scotland; and subsequently Dr. White, of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Madison, of Virginia, were consecrated by the Most Reverend John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury; and thus the Protestant Episcopal Church in America rejoiced in the belief that the true Apostolic Succession was completed, and that the American Church was regularly organized, with power to transmit, through their newly made bishops, the priestly dignities to succeeding candidates. The minister at St. Paul's Church, in this town, was soon after consecrated, the first Bishop of Massachusetts.

* Appendix to the "Frontier Missionary."

PERIOD III.

COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY.

With the return of peace business revived, and in place of the privateers which for the last seven years had been the most profitable shipping afloat, the merchantman was again built and rigged, and water craft of all sizes and capacity, speedily left the Merrimac for the East and West Indies and Europe.* Two years before the close of the war the tonnage of Newburyport was but 7,176. Seven years after, it had grown to 11,870, an increase of some sixty per cent., and was daily increasing. With the revival of foreign trade, business of all kinds was awakened to a new life. The artisan and mechanic resumed their tools, and putting aside the old muskets and rifles with which they had marched from Bunker Hill to the Jerseys, and from the Jerseys to Savannah, now wrought with as hearty a good-will with the plane, at the anvil, and the bench. As our first fleet of merchantmen returned, and money became plenty, the retail traders launched out into unwonted investments, and Cornhill and King street again displayed English goods, and retail traders without fear invited their customers even to the purchase of *tea*.

But it was some time before the debts incurred by the town in sustaining the war were paid; and though internal improvements, such as repairing and improving the public property, grading streets,

* Captain Nicholas Johnson, of Newburyport, commander of the ship "Count de Grasse," was the first to display the "stars and stripes" from the masthead of his vessel, in the river Thames.

and erecting new buildings, were projected and discussed, the most expensive of these were deferred until provision was made for the payment of the town debt. The place had long since been divested of all signs of royalty in the decorations of public buildings and business insignia. Only one of this nature, the sign of the "Wolfe Tavern," by some accident escaped; and this was afterwards the cause of severe denunciations by the newspaper press, which declared its existence "in the very centre of the place to be an insult to the inhabitants of this truly republican town."* Effectual means were also taken to eradicate everything savoring of royalty from the names of the streets. King street was changed to Federal, and Queen to Market, Fish to State, &c.

Considering that the fortification of the harbor had proved a protection to the surrounding country, as well as to Newburyport, the latter petitioned the General Court (1785) to be reimbursed in the sums thus expended, instructing their Representatives "if objection was made on the ground that other towns assisted in raising these works, that in case an appropriation was made for their relief, to guarantee for Newburyport, that the due share of those towns should be paid over (Amesbury and Salisbury assisted) in just proportion, according to what they had given."

These works were a fort on Salisbury shore, and another on Plum Island, a floating battery, a barge, and several gun carriages; the whole expense, as set forth in the petition, being £2,483 8s. 2½d.; and as these works had been authorized and recommended by a committee employed by the General Court, as thus providing a safe harbor for vessels belonging to Boston, (then in the hands of the British,) and the maritime towns on the coast, it was reasonably supposed that the State would, on the return of peace, make good the cost. This had already been done in regard to some other places, but Newburyport was not destined to a speedy adjustment of the account.

Both the Federal Government and the States were exceedingly perplexed by the failure of their many plans for extinguishing the public debts after the war. The paper money had served the purpose of its emission, but the ill effects of this necessary evil were

* Essex Journal.

not so easily disposed of. In addition to its own tendency to depreciation, it was counterfeited by the cart-load by the orders of General Clinton, in New York, on the suggestion of Lord George Germaine, and sent through the country, for the purpose of driving Congress from continuing this expedient to support the expenses of the war; and thus, when the danger from British arms was over, new dangers arose to the Federal Union from the difficulty of apportioning the amount of the public debt to be assumed and paid by the several States. To Massachusetts was assigned a larger proportion than to any of the States, except Virginia, yet she was prepared to do her part;* but New York refusing her assent to the plan, it was given up, and the States were left to devise such means for the extinguishment of their own debts as they could; while Congress borrowed money in Europe to pay the interest on foreign loans, and sold out the domestic debt for about a tenth of its nominal value.†

In this juncture of affairs, when the honor of Massachusetts was at stake, and the General Court was tempted by some of its less scrupulous members to repudiation, Newburyport took a noble stand in behalf of maintaining inviolate the faith of the State. In May, 1786, the town approved by vote of an address prepared to their Representatives, in which the hope is expressed "*that injustice may never be confounded with policy in Massachusetts.*" A plan was also devised in this address for reducing the debt of the State, the principal features of which were, after making provision for the support of the necessary officers in the Commonwealth, first "to raise a sum, of that species of security called final settlements, on some proportion to the sum with which Massachusetts is charged by the United States, whereby the State may be relieved from its annual interest, bearing as it does a high proportion to the current value of the principal, and its whole ability be thus left to operate with greater

* Honorable Tristram Dalton, of the United States Senate, under date of August 3, 1790, writes to Mr. Michael Hodge, of this town, "Miss Assumption, you will have been informed, was raised, and seems pretty well. I shall have to fight to-morrow in Senate about Madam Molasses, as some of the southern members want to load her with more duties than I think she can walk with." [Private letters of this period show as strong sectional feeling as has ever been displayed since.]

† Pitkin's History.

freedom for the discharge of its other obligations, which might be effected by sinking annually of its capital debt £100,000 until it appreciated to par, when its interest might be diminished by easy reduction."

Without transcribing the expressions of opinion in regard to enlarging the powers of Congress, or "the peculiar embarrassment" which the town felt (as they might be considered "as pleading for themselves as a community"), they represented, in conclusion, that in the valuation of the State, "though a respectable commercial town, they were not among the greatest in population or property, but by their prompt attention to the public interest, they had been involved in extraordinary expenses which had never been settled." Finally, in this noble address, they say to their Representatives, "We charge you to regard the Constitution and laws of this Commonwealth with a religious solemnity and carefulness, as your constituents esteem them *invaluable possessions*."

We find, however, a year later, that one of the printers at least, in Newburyport, Mr. John Mycall, editor of the *Essex Journal*, did not consider *one* of the laws adopted about this time as an "invaluable possession." This was the Massachusetts Stamp Act, passed July 2, 1785. In their efforts to raise a revenue for the payment of the public debt, the State invented a system of internal duties, and a revenue was raised by placing a tax on papers, advertisements, blank, legal, and some other books, and other articles.* This stamp duty on papers was very generally resented. Some newspapers were suspended, (the Boston Continental Journal was one,) and various devices were used by others to evade the tax, especially on advertisements. Mr. Mycall, in an editorial under date of January 4, 1786, says: "The journals of other States come to us filled with advertisements; but on account of the *Stamp Act* here, we cannot advertise our own goods, though I have for sale Bibles and Testaments, primers, almanacs, stationery, and many other useful things, and also an excellent 'Moral Discourse,' the price of which being only eight pence will not afford profit enough for paying the [advertising] tax!"

* The duty was seventeen per cent. on blank books, twelve and a half on primers, psalm books, &c., and for an advertisement of twelve lines or less, (allowing but eight words to a line,) sixpence; for twenty lines or less, one shilling.

So great was the prejudice against the duty on papers, that the law authorizing it was soon repealed. It reminded the people too strongly of that against which they had battled in the colonial times, and they would more cheerfully have paid a double tax on anything else, than a very moderate one for stamped paper.

The heavy taxations, which followed for several years after the war, produced in the middle and western counties of the State, an insurrection, commonly known as "Shay's Rebellion," from the name of the individual who headed the insurgents.

By a record on the town books, we find that a company from this town joined the expedition against Shay, the town having voted, March, 1789, "to grant to the soldiers that went against Shay, a sum sufficient to make up their pay to 48 shillings a month."

The company thus drafted, was commanded by Capt. Ezra Lunt, (the same that was at Bunker Hill.)

"I very well remember," says a cotemporary and relative,* "seeing this company paraded, the day they took up their march, being at the head of Church lane, (Market street,) and directly opposite to Bishop Bass's church. Captain Lunt, just before marching, made a very suitable and soldier-like address to his officers and men, on this novel and unexpected service; enforcing in set terms the necessity of *military discipline*, and due obedience to those who were in lawful authority over them. The whole company responded to the address in loud and cheerful huzzas. The word 'Forward—march' was given, but before they had reached a great distance, they got the news that the rebels had dispersed, much to the satisfaction of all, for a campaign in a *civil war* was not fully liked."

How far they went, is not stated by the narrator, but the following certificate, with the record above quoted, indicates that either then or subsequently, they were absent on this expedition a considerable time, but we find no evidence of their coming into collision with the insurgents:

"This certifies, that the 752 cartridges and 100 flints, received from the Selectmen of Newburyport, were delivered out to the soldiers of my company, *at different times, during the expedition* against the insurgents; and that two camp-kettles were lost in the same service.

"EZRA LUNT, Captain.

"Newburyport, 22d Oct., 1787."

* Henry Lunt, Esq., of Boston.

As another evidence of the sentiments of the people of Newburyport, in regard to this riotous resistance to the properly constituted authorities, may be mentioned the vote thrown in the town for the two candidates for Governor, in 1786, Bowdoin and Hancock: the latter, the inflexible enemy of the insurgents, received 189 votes; while Bowdoin, who was considered comparatively favorable to them, received but 96. The entire County of Essex gave 1800 for Hancock, which was a majority of 1000 over Bowdoin; though the latter carried the State.

This insurrection showed the value, and the weak points of the militia, which was, for long after the war, relied on as the great defence of the country. In this State, (1787) it consisted of nine divisions, of which the Essex companies were the second; in each division there were to be four (in some cases five) artillery companies, and two cavalry; they were to be raised by order of the Governor, with the advice and consent of his Council, but the enlistments were voluntary. Authority was also given, by the Act passed in November, 1786, for the formation of cadet companies, "if this could be done without reducing the militia companies to less than sixty privates." So important was the thorough organization of the militia then considered, that it was by special Act provided, "that if any individual was unable to procure proper equipments for himself, the town was to provide them; parents, masters, and guardians, to do the same for minors under their care."

Additional acts to secure efficiency were from time to time added. Six years later, it was made incumbent on every town, to be constantly provided with 64 lbs. of good gunpowder, 100 lbs. of musket balls, 100 flints, and 8 tin or iron camp-kettles, for every 64 soldiers in the militia of such town; and a proportionate supply of the articles named, for a greater or less number. It was the duty of the Brigade Inspector, to present any town to the Grand Jury which was not thus provided. We shall hereafter show that the militia of Newburyport held a high rank in the State.

During the year 1787, there occurred a curious, and by no means agreeable instance of the impertinence of some of the British officials, for it can hardly be supposed the government sanctioned such a proceeding. On the 30th of July, there were put on shore at New-

buryport, twenty men and fourteen women, in a perfectly destitute condition, who either could not or would not give any account of themselves; and who were supposed to be British convicts. They proved to be part of a company of one hundred persons, who had been landed at different points on the coast, between Machias and this town. They were brought in a brig or snow, commanded by a Capt. Elliot. They were temporarily provided for by the Selectmen, who, August 1st, wrote to Governor Hancock, to inquire what disposition should be made of them. The State relieved the town, by assuming the disposition of the unwelcome visitants.

Newburyport was made a port of entry, under the Federal Constitution, by the action of Congress, in 1789, which divided the whole coast into Districts, assigning the ports of entry and delivery to be included in each. Newburyport was made a District,* to which was annexed the towns of Salisbury, Amesbury and Haverhill, as ports of delivery. The Hon. Tristram Dalton, Senator from this place, endeavored to secure the addition of Ipswich to this District, until satisfied that the people there much preferred to be commercially annexed to Salem.

In this session of Congress was also mooted the question of assuming the charge of the Plum Island lights; but this was for some time delayed by the difficulty experienced in inducing the State to consent to their cession, with the land on which they stood, to the Federal Government.

An unwarrantable jealousy existed on the part of the States, lest the national Government might abuse the power, if a foothold of any description were permitted them, within the several Commonwealths.

* Letters of Hon. Tristram Dalton, of the U. S. Senate, and B. Goodhue, Representative to the Congress of 1789, to M. Hodge, Clerk of the town of Newburyport. B. Goodhue writes from Philadelphia, July 5, 1789: "As soon as we have got through the business necessary to set the Government agoing, we shall have a recess. The harbors, ports, &c., of the United States are put into Districts;—in each District is to be a port of entry, and to which is annexed several ports of delivery. For instance, Newburyport is a District, to which is annexed Salisbury, Amesbury and Haverhill as places of delivery, and a Collector, Naval Officer and Surveyor is to reside at Newburyport. Tristram Dalton proposed Ipswich to belong to Newburyport, but Mr. Choate wrote him, that it would be more agreeable for the people there to go to Salem."

Mr. Dalton, writing from the seat of Government, in regard to these lights, January 31, 1790, says :—"The property in the light-houses must be vested in the United States before August next, or they will be liable to be overlooked, and I know some influential people in Boston are not favorable to the navigation of Merrimac river ;" and he further urges the necessity, on the people of Newburyport, of securing from the State Legislature the right to cede the light-houses on Plum Island, at an "early period, so that when the next Congress met, they might be found as an *established charge* on the Government ;" but he adds, "I believe there are people in Massachusetts, who would rather stand by and witness the total destruction of our commerce, than yield one foot of Massachusetts soil to the Federal Government. But if Massachusetts does not cede the light-houses, they will have to be maintained at the cost of the merchants ; for the country people will not assist."

The right of cession, so important to the navigation of the Merrimac, was granted by the State Legislature early in 1790. Previous to their cession, they had been maintained by private enterprise. In September, 1787, the town granted "all the right that it has the power to grant, to Mr. Wm. Bartlett and others, to appoint a man to live in, and take care of the fort and lights on Plum Island, at the expense of the said petitioners."* In a printed notice the next year, to seamen, giving directions about making these lights, the information is incidentally given, that there was at that time, "7 feet of water on the shoal part of the bar, at low tide, and more than 11 feet at half tide."

In this year, an Act was passed by the General Court, regulating pilotage for Newburyport. It was found that the *general* Act, for the ports of the Commonwealth, was in some respects inapplicable to this town ; and the following provisions were accordingly made :—"First, that no person should take any vessel in or out of the Merrimac river, drawing 9 or more than 9 feet of water, (except coasters and fishing vessels,†) without obtaining a commission or branch as a

* Before the lights were erected, a flag-staff assisted to guide the mariner on his approach to the harbor.

† These were probably excepted because they were all American vessels, frequently owned, wholly, or in part, by the men that sailed them, and were of small burden.

pilot. The branch, or commission, was to be granted by the Governor and Council, only on the applicant producing a certificate of capacity, signed by the clerk of the "Merrimac Marine Society of Newburyport," in behalf of a majority of its members. A pilot thus authorized, was also obliged to deposit with the Treasurer of the Commonwealth, £100, as security that he would relinquish his branch whenever required by the Governor to do so, on a representation, of a majority of the Marine Society, that he had become disqualified. Any unauthorized person, attempting to bring in a vessel, was liable to an action for damages, if any ensued.

The pilots of Newburyport were originally confined to prescribed limits, outside of which no ship-master was obliged to accept of their services; these limits were from Newbury bar to Jebacca, from Jebacca to Hallibut point; from Hallibut point to the Isles of Shoals; from Isles of Shoals to Rye Beach.

But this defining of their bounds was found to be productive of ill consequences. Captains and owners had their favorite pilots; and if one offered whom they did not wish, or whom they were ordered not to take, they had only to lay outside of these limits until the one came whom they desired to patronize. Thus some were deprived of their due share of business, and though risking their lives, perhaps, in beating out to reach a vessel, might, on offering their services, be refused. This, it was feared, would superinduce more caution in putting out after vessels, among those who were doubtful of being accepted; and the Marine Society, considering the risk to which property was thus exposed, made the effort, and succeeded, (in 1847,) in getting a law passed, "obliging any ship or vessel, requiring the aid of a pilot, to receive the first person offering his services, and holding a branch for the port into which the vessel is bound, whether he be within his District or not; and if such pilot, so offering his services, shall not be received, and the master or commander shall afterwards receive another pilot, the first pilot offering shall be entitled to receive full pilotage for the draught of water such vessel may draw."*

In the fall of 1789, Washington, then recently elected to the Presidential chair, conceiving it his duty to become as fully acquainted

* General Laws and Resolves for Massachusetts, 1847, Chap. 279, p. 20.

as possible with the country over which he had been called to preside, availed himself of the first interim of public duties, to make a tour through those States with which he was least acquainted. On his way through Massachusetts to New Hampshire, he visited this town on Friday, the 1st November, remaining until Saturday morning.

The Hon. Tristram Dalton, who was on his way home, but awaiting the President's arrival in Boston, thus writes to his friend and relative, Mr. Michael Hodge, at that time Town Clerk of Newburyport:

"I will advise you, when he [Washington] expects to be in Newburyport, and wish you would let me know what is proposed to be done, with you, on this account. If any public house, and suitable accommodations could be provided, it would be well. * * * I would offer my house to him, if the furniture was not out, and if I had any servants. I have not, and I know it to be the wish of the President, not to stop at private houses. * * * The appearance of the militia in the County of Essex, *and of the 2d Regiment* in particular*, must be very agreeable to him. To arrange the militia of the United States, is an important object with him; and *better examples he cannot meet with than in the County of Essex.*" * * *

Every preparation was made to give the first President a worthy reception. The Hon. Tristram Dalton, and Major General Titcomb, with other distinguished gentlemen from Newburyport, had met and accompanied him from Ipswich, with an escort of two companies of cavalry. On approaching the boundaries of the town, the cortège was met (on High street, near Bromfield,) by the Militia and Artillery Companies of Newburyport, the procession which was to escort him through the town, and a company of young men, who had prepared an Ode of Welcome† to the Chief Magistrate of the country.

* This included the Newburyport Companies.

† He comes ! he comes ! The Hero comes !
 Sound, sound your trumpets, beat your drums ;
 From port to port let cannons roar,
 He's welcome to New England's shore.
 Welcome, welcome, welcome, welcome,
 Welcome to New England's shore !

Prepare ! prepare ! your songs prepare ;
 Loud, loudly rend the echoing air ;

After the firing of a Federal salute by the Artillery Company, this Ode was sung, and proved an affecting, as it was a novel feature, in the receptions given to the President, on his tour. Washington was moved even to tears by this unexpected and interesting mode of welcome; additional effect being given to the words, by the accompaniment of the military, and other instrumental music, appropriately joining in the sentiments expressed.

The procession embraced, in addition to the military, all the town officers, professional men, manufacturers, tradesmen, sea captains and mariners, with all the children of the public schools,* each having a quill in his hand. The procession conducted the President through High to State street, to the mansion of Nathaniel Tracy, Esq.,† where he remained through the day and evening. On his arrival there, he was greeted with an Address, written by John Quincy Adams,‡ to which he made the following reply:

“Gentlemen, the demonstrations of respect and affection which you are pleased to pay to an individual, whose highest pretension is to rank as your fellow citizen, are of a nature too distinguished not to claim the warmest return that gratitude can make. * * *

In visiting the town of Newburyport, I have obeyed a favorite inclination, and I am much gratified by the indulgence. In expressing a sincere wish for its prosperity, and the happiness of its inhabitants, I do but justice to my own sentiments, and their merits.”

In the evening, a *feu de joie* was fired by the militia companies; and a display of fireworks terminated the public demonstrations of joy felt by the community, at the privilege of entertaining so illustrious a guest.

Washington had entered the town over the Parker river bridge, advancing through Newbury, old town, to High street; on leaving

From pole to pole his praise resound,
For Virtue is with Glory crowned.

Virtue, virtue, virtue, virtue,
Virtue is with Glory crowned.

Essex Jour., N. H., Packet.

* These contained boys only; there were 420 in the procession. Female public schools were not established at this time.

† Now known as the Prince House, nearly opposite Temple street.

‡ See Biographical Notice.

the next morning, he was escorted as far as the boundary line of New Hampshire, where he was met by the Chief Magistrate of that State, General Sullivan, and four companies of light horse. The Marine Society of Newburyport had prepared a beautiful barge, in which the President was carried across the Merrimac from a point opposite Amesbury.

During the year 1793 an inoculating hospital for the small-pox was established. This fatal practice of taking the virus directly from a person who had the disease, and inserting it into the system of a healthy person, has fortunately been totally abandoned, and superseded by the safer practice of vaccination. But it was, up to the close of the last century, quite common; and on the appearance of the small-pox in Newburyport, a hospital was built in the common pasture, for the express purpose of inoculating for the disease. Formerly the inhabitants who chose to be thus inoculated, had resorted to other places for the purpose.* In Mr. Daniel Balch's Journal we find this entry: "May 15, 1777, Hannah went to Marblehead to take ye small pox;" and "16th, Daniel come home; 17 June, B—— B——'s wife came home."

Much alarm was felt in the town on its first appearance; indeed, no one in these days can realize the terror which the approach of this disease then caused. The strictest regulations were enforced, and no one was permitted to remain in the town who had it. Without discrimination they were carried to the hospital, and heavy fines were inflicted for privately inoculating, or concealing the fact that a person had the disease. The report having at one time got abroad, that the disease was in the town, the selectmen felt constrained to publish weekly bulletins of its progress. A circular letter which was received from the authorities of New York, desiring this town to take measures, "by quarantining vessels from the south," against the spread of the yellow fever, with the request that the same might be published in "the neighboring States *where there are printing presses*," did not create so much excitement as did the rumor that a case of small-pox had actually occurred.

The brig Stark had appeared in the harbor some time previously, and it was rumored through the town that a man on board had the

* A "pest house" had been previously erected on Plum Island for victims of the small-pox, but was not voluntarily resorted to for inoculation.

small-pox. Orders were immediately issued to the constable, Mr. James Kettle, who also acted as health officer, "to prevent the vessel coming up to town, and to allow no one to leave it for any other place than Plum Island, until he was satisfied that they neither had the disease, nor would convey it to others;" and if, after his examination, any of the crew did come up to town, they were to be officially visited for eighteen days successively, to see if any symptoms of the disease appeared. The vessel was partly laden with cotton and dry goods. The cotton was ordered to be "buried in the sand *seven* days," and the piece goods "well aired." The written return of the constable shows that he thoroughly entered into the spirit of his instructions. He says "that he *found the man well*, but sent him to Plum Island to be cleansed; that the brig had been washed and smoked a long time before she came into the harbor; but notwithstanding, he *smoked her again* from stem to stern, and washed her cabin with vinegar, and had taken everything out from both cabin and steerage, and smoked and aired them well;" and he adds, as well he might, "and I am very certain that she may come to town to-morrow with all safety."

When the hospital was built, so great was the alarm of the people, and so complete their faith in inoculation, that there were soon more applicants for admission than there was room to accommodate them. Under these circumstances, the physician, Charles Coffin, Jr., was directed to exercise no discrimination in the admission of patients, but "to choose them by lot," with this humane provision only, that "families were not to be separated." But being once within the terrible precincts of the hospital, it was no very easy thing to get out; for the strictest surveillance was kept up over the whole premises, lest the contagion should be carried away. Among the rules and regulations of the establishment, it was ordered, that "no patient should leave the hospital without being thoroughly smoked and cleansed;" the latter process included bathing in strong vinegar; the hair was to be cut off, and no article of clothing whatever, not even shoes, which had been used in the hospital, was to be worn away. This was enforced by a penalty of ten dollars. No visitor might enter without leave, under a fine of eight dollars, and no conversation was allowed between a visitor and patient unless the former placed himself "to the windward" of the latter, under a

penalty of one dollar. Let it not be supposed that these visitors were admitted into the building. No! lines were drawn at a considerable distance from the house, called the "inner" and "outer" lines; the latter sixteen and a half feet distant from the former, and no nearer than this could any visitor approach to see his friend. If one brought an inmate of this dismal abode any little article for the gratification of his palate, he was not allowed to hand it to him, but must place it "on the outer line" to be taken up after he was gone a safe distance from the spot. Without this boundary, too, were placed all the supplies for the hospital. A guard was stationed to keep off cattle, and if a dog or cat unwittingly invaded the fatal circle, it experienced the same fate as was adjudged to the intruders on Mount Sinai,—instant death. The hospital was kept open during the fall, winter, and succeeding spring months. Applicants gradually diminished, the disease disappeared, and the building was deserted. But during the panic produced by the prevalence of the disease, the selectmen of Newburyport and Newbury jointly agreed "to erect two smoke-houses, and to appoint suitable persons to attend them, for the purpose of *smoking travellers* and goods coming from infected places; one to be near Oldtown bridge, and the other at Thorlo's bridge; and that no one should escape, a gate was placed across the road, to be opened only when the *sesame* of perfect purity from all contagious disorders was satisfactorily proved.

When the French Revolution broke out, in 1792, followed by the deposition of the royal family, and the decapitation of the king, arousing all monarchical Europe, and arraying them against the new Republic, all eyes in France were turned towards the United States for sympathy and aid. The first had been freely given by all classes at the commencement of the struggle; but the anarchy, excesses, cruelties, and enormities which followed each other in quick succession, soon detached the majority of the humane and order-loving portion of the community from her cause, while others who deprecated these immediate bad results, still hoped that she would purify herself from these stains, and acquire a name worthy to stand beside her elder sister among the Republics, which it was confidently hoped, by the friends of liberty, were about to be established.

With the view of attaching the United States to their interests in a political alliance, negotiations were early commenced by France, though a commercial treaty was the ostensible object.

Hitherto there had been but one acknowledged party in the United States, that of Republicans; but at this epoch the incipient parties included under the general names of Federalists and Democrats, began to assume distinctness; the leading member of the former being Mr. Hamilton, and of the latter, Mr. Jefferson. The immediate cause of open differences in the Cabinet was the appearance of citizen Genet as Minister to the United States from France. Washington having decided on maintaining the neutrality of our Government, every effort, honorable and dishonorable, was used by France to effect a change, first in the views of the leading men at the seat of Government, and then to detach the *people* from the Administration, and set them in array against the President and his measures, and to create a popular influence in favor of an alliance, offensive as well as defensive, with France.

The National Convention, immediately after their declaration of war against Great Britain, had passed a decree, opening French ports in the East and West Indies, and granting other special privileges to the United States, for the double purpose of crippling Great Britain, by throwing the carrying trade into our hands, and as a bait to the Government of the United States to form the desired treaty. By the eleventh article of the treaty of 1778, between France and the United States, the reciprocal guaranty of the possessions of the two nations was stipulated;—the United States thus guaranteeing to France her possessions in the West Indies. These possessions were now in danger; but the United States could not fulfil this clause in her treaty with France, without breaking her “treaty of peace and amity” with England. To increase the difficulty, citizen Genet was commissioned to make the observance of this article in the treaty with France, “a *sine qua non* of their free commerce with the West Indies.”* Thus the United States was in the threefold dilemma, of either failing to fulfil this clause, renewing war with England, or losing the commerce of the French West India Islands, and other advantages, which it was in the power of France to withhold or

* Pitkin's Civil and Political History.

bestow. What the result might have been, had the negotiations been conducted, on the part of France, with delicacy and tact, it is impossible now to determine. But the *pro tempore* ruling powers of that country appeared to consider that the United States were under imperative obligations to render their assistance; and worse, presented their demands in such terms, that the manner would have precluded a favorable consideration, had the request been reasonable and well timed. Every expedient was resorted to, by citizen Genet, to embarrass the Government, and following his instructions, he demanded the immediate payment of the whole of the loan due France, though the time set for the several payments had not expired. The French Minister also claimed the right of arming vessels in our ports, and enlisting American seamen to cruise against nations with whom the United States were at peace. This was resisted by Washington; but for a long time unsuccessfully. Prizes were taken by French vessels, and actually sold in ports of the United States. It is not necessary to enumerate here, all the offensive and dangerous proceedings of M. Genet up to the time of his recall; but suffice it to say, he had so far influenced a portion of the people, who were inclined to favor his views from a romantic kind of gratitude to France,—forgetting that it was the murdered king, and not his violent dethroners, who had assisted us,—that they openly condemned the policy of Washington, in regard to maintaining the neutrality of the country. But this feeling was much allayed by the disclosures which were subsequently made, of the base arts used by the emissaries of France; especially in the project which they had set on foot, for forming an alliance among the people at the south-west, bordering on the Mississippi, urging them to throw off their allegiance to the Government, and establish an independent one by French aid. But though it was generally conceded that the demands of France, as presented, were inadmissible, yet the political parties, formed at the time, retained for many years after the bias they then received; the Federalists being supposed to favor the interests of Great Britain in our foreign policy, and the Democrats that of France. Without an intimate knowledge of the political phases of this period, it is impossible to have a right understanding of those causes which gave such intensity and bitterness to the recriminations of the two great parties which in after years struggled for supremacy under these names;

till the issues, so important at the time of their formation, gave way to the interests awakened by new times and different circumstances.

The influence which the French party had obtained, even in Congress, is shown by the refusal of the House of Representatives to vote the necessary supplies for carrying Mr. Jay's treaty with England into effect. This delay was productive of so much uncertainty, — jeopardizing, it was believed by many, even the existence of the Federal Union, — that in many parts of the country, serious alarm was felt. Newburyport, with many other towns, held public meetings, to enable the citizens to express their opinions on this aspect of national affairs. We find the following notice of their action in the newspaper of the day :

"On Saturday afternoon, [April 6th,] the inhabitants assembled at the town-house, with no other notice than twice ringing of the bells, in larger numbers than has been known for many years, to decide on measures, proper to be taken at this important crisis of our national affairs ; and *with only one dissentient voice*, agreed to present a petition to the House of Representatives, praying that the treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United States may be carried into operation ; which they consider essential to preserve the faith, honor and interest of our young and rising Republic."—*Essex Journal*, (1796.)

A Committee was appointed, to obtain subscribers to this petition, and upwards of four hundred names were secured in a few hours.

But the troubles which involved Great Britain, and the confusion which reigned in nearly every State of Continental Europe, at this time, threw an immense carrying trade into our hands ; American shipping found protection in the Texel, and the Empress Catharine had already granted us the freedom of the Baltic ; a brisk trade was opened with the English, French, Spanish and Dutch possessions, and for a season, unchecked prosperity was the reward of maritime enterprise ; and the town, content with this, readily agreed to abide by the Proclamation of Washington, forbidding the fitting out of armed vessels in aid of either nations (1793). But though on the whole, the town gained immensely from her foreign trade, for the next twenty years, great annoyances, and many heavy losses were experienced by individuals, from the effect of decrees of the belligerent powers, affecting neutral vessels, of which we shall furnish ample

evidence as we proceed. For not only did Great Britain claim the right of search, for the ostensible purpose of recovering English deserters, or British subjects,* but in the exercise of this disputed right, frequent seizures were made, of what she called "enemy's goods,"—viz., goods shipped from the port of some nation, (as the French,) with whom she was at war; and on various pretexts, both cargo and vessel were frequently confiscated, or otherwise subjected to such delay, loss and injury, as absorbed the whole profits of the voyage. In addition to these insults and injuries from Great Britain, the French, irritated at the neglect of the Government of the United States to renew and enforce that part of the treaty which secured to them their West Indian possessions; and feeling themselves aggrieved at the refusal of the United States to form an alliance with them; and farther, complaining that we allowed the English to take French goods out of our ships, thus permitting a great injury to France,—adopted retaliatory measures, and French privateers made a prey of our merchantmen, *because* they had previously been robbed by the English.

In 1798, the allied powers, in order more completely to crush France, adopted the extraordinary measure of endeavoring to *starve*† her into submission, and for this purpose agreed among themselves not only to allow no exportation of corn, grain, salt meat, or other provisions to France, but they mutually engaged to unite all their efforts, to prevent neutral nations from supplying her, directly or indirectly. The Empress Catharine also requested the King of Sweden not to allow his ships of war to take under convoy, merchantmen destined for France. Thus, on every side, a net was being drawn, to entangle our commerce. The Government of the United States remonstrated through its Ministers, but without avail. And, as if this league was not enough, American commerce and American seamen were suddenly and unexpectedly exposed to a new and worse danger.

For some years, a state of war had existed between Portugal and Algiers, and during this period, Portugal, by a powerful fleet, had

* Capt Goodhue, of Newburyport, lost all his men by impressment, at Legane, March 28, 1796.

† Vide Alison's Europe: "Convention between Great Britain and Russia."

confined the piratical cruisers of the Dey, to the Mediterranean ; and American vessels, in full security, navigated the Atlantic, on the borders of Spain and Portugal. But in September, 1793, a truce was concluded between the Dey and the latter power, and the whole of the Algerine fleet was suddenly let loose, to prey upon the commerce of the ocean ; and thus a new element of destruction was added to the selfishness of the Northern powers, and the revengeful policy of France, against which our merchantmen were totally unprepared.

The history of European Cabinets is the narrative of fluctuations in *our* commercial prosperity. A treaty could neither be made, nor disregarded, but the ebb of the wave, which threw it on the world, bore on its retirement, a page of the annals, of profit or loss, of the merchants in Newburyport ; and affairs which, upon a cursory view, might appear to have no relation to our interests, were often vitally connected with it. The correspondence of ship-masters, belonging to this port, at this period, and for long after, would abundantly confirm this statement, if collateral, historical proof were wanting.

Thus, a master of a schooner, writing from Martinico, to this town, under date of March 20th, 1794, says : " We are continually insulted and abused by the British ; the Commodore says, ' all American property here will be confiscated ; ' my schooner is unloaded, stripped and plundered of everything. Nineteen American sail here have been libelled ; seven of them were lashed together, and drifted ashore, and stove to pieces." *

Another master reports " that on leaving Guadeloupe he was boarded by an English privateer, but that she was retaken by a French privateer, who took possession of all the English sailors ; " and on April 20th, arrived in this town, Captain T. Adams, from St. Martin's ; he had been taken by a British frigate and carried to Barbadoes, where he was tried (under the new neutrality laws,) and acquitted, but not until he had paid three hundred pounds charges. The following is a list of some of the vessels belonging to Newburyport, which were thus unceremoniously seized upon and carried to the West Indies, up to September, 1794.

* Impartial Herald, 1794.

	<i>Masters.</i>	<i>Owners.</i>
*" Ship Russell,	I. Young,	Wm. Bartlett.
Brig Beaver,	N. Pierce,	J. Greenleaf.
" Betsy,	J. Wiley,	Peter Le Breton.
" Dolphin,	E. Knapp,	Samuel Knapp.
" Essex,	Wm. Brown,	A. Davenport.
" Mary,	M. Pearson,	Joshua Carter.
" Margaret,	J. Dalton,	O'Brien & Pike.
" Nancy,	R. Adams,	William Coombs.
" Polly,	H. Goodhue,	J. Stanwood.
" Stark,	J. Holland,	William Coombs.
" William,	W. Trow,	W. Bartlett.
Schooner Fox,	T. Adams,	Wm. & Phil. Coombs.
" Flora,	T. Follansbee,	S. Howard.
" Hope,	D. Farley,	T. Brown.
" Sally,	Noyes,	Smith, Pettingell & S. Coffin.
" Speedwell,	A. Rejan,	Bayley, O'Brien & Pike.
" Two Brothers,	B. Colby,	D. Richards.
Sloop Mary,	J. Wells,	Smith & Pettingell.
" Polly,	W. Milberry,	Gage & Balch.
" Sally,	G. Colby,	Joseph Wadleigh & Co."

The following paragraph from the Essex Journal of August 7th, partly explains the cause of their detention.

"Yesterday Captains Tappan and Trow, arrived here from the West Indies; they were both taken by the British privateers, and carried into St. Christopher's, where they underwent an examination, but it appearing that the former had not any French property on board, he was released. On board Captain Trow's [vessel] seventy hogsheads of sugar were seized, which Captain Tappan claimed as *his* property, but the claim appearing to them to be without foundation, it is detained for trial at their next maritime court."

The following extract from a letter written by Captain Moses Brown, of the schooner Hannah, dated Bermuda, October 28, 1795, is evidence of the slight grounds on which many of these seizures were made. The "Hannah" was libelled at the same time.

"I have heard the trial of the brig Sally, of Boston, and of a ship belonging to Charleston, which gives me reason to believe, that they want only *suspicion* in their own favor, to condemn *any* vessel,

* Morning Star of September 2, 1794.

as the king's attorney was pleased to declare on the trial of the Sally, 'that any of the [British] armed vessels have a right to take *any* vessels they meet with at sea, and call them French property till some person comes forward and proves to the captor's satisfaction, the contrary.' * * They say, 'till the Admiral's proclamation is revoked, they have a right to condemn all vessels from Guadeloupe, even though he was gone to England with his ships, much more while he is lying at Martinico, or Antigua.' His Majesty's ordering a dock yard to be built here, raises some of their expectations very high. Indeed, they have even the vanity to say that 'the situation of this island is such, that they don't doubt it will be so fortified in fifty years, *that every vessel passing from America to the West Indies, will be obliged to call here for a passport!!*'"

These outrageous proceedings did not escape the notice of our Government, as will appear by the following note, addressed to the Collector of Newburyport; but the protection was rather prospective than immediate.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, March 25, 1796.

"Sir: — The newspapers frequently give accounts of impressments of American seamen, and of other outrages committed upon our citizens by British ships-of-war. But however well founded these relations may be, yet other documents will be required whenever reparation for these wrongs shall be demanded. I am therefore directed by the President of the United States, to endeavor to obtain correct information on this subject, verified by the oaths of the informants. Such of these as shall enter the port of Newburyport, will fall under your notice, and I must request you to have their depositions taken at the public expense, in a most fair and impartial manner before a notary public, and transmitted from time to time to this office. I am respectfully, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"TIMOTHY PICKERING."

But while the United States authorities were calling for the *evidence* of damages, the seizures went on, as the following extract of a letter from Captain Wyatt St. Barbe, of this port, to the Marine Insurance Company here, will show. It is dated Teneriffe, March 22, 1796. Captain St. Barbe says:

"Having left the Elbe on the 5th of February, on the 25th saw a large ship in the south-west quarter apparently in distress, and made for her; she proved to be a British transport, with troops on board, bound to the West Indies; she was leaking badly; her name was the 'Isabell,' Captain Potter, who came aboard and requested me to see him to Corunna, or Lisbon. I told him my ship was chartered at a very high rate, and my voyage would be much injured by turning back, but that I would see him safe to the Western Islands, Madeira, or the Canaries, with which he seemed to be satisfied, and said that he would send to the commander of the troops, [in the transport,] for his approbation; but instead, he sent him word that my ship and cargo was French and Dutch property,* and requested assistance to seize me as a prize. An armed party soon came on board and drove my supercargo, chief mate, and eight of my sailors into his boat, at the point of the bayonet, and sent them on board the Isabell, before even having seen my papers, manning my ship from his with an addition of fourteen soldiers and two officers. The next day, Captain Potter said 'he should take us to Lisbon, and send us from there to Barbadoes.' Having examined all the ship's papers, and my private ones, breaking open boxes and taking out what he pleased, he took every means to corrupt my sailors, trying to induce them to swear that the ship is either Dutch or French property, keeping my men on bread and water, and the carpenter in irons. This is a fine reward for having saved the lives of near three hundred of His Britannic Majesty's subjects. * * * I am confident if justice takes place on our arrival at Barbadoes, I shall be acquitted with honor, not having a single paper or anything else aboard of my ship, that can gainsay or contradict what I have always professed myself to be, and what you have always known me to be, a citizen of the United States. It is peculiarly aggravating to me to know that *most of my cargo will be ruined before a decision takes place.*"

The brig Friendship, of Newburyport, Captain Harris, was taken and carried into Barbadoes, the officers and crew turned ashore without clothes or money, the whole of which was taken from them. On applying for a small portion of their own to procure necessary

* The Batavian Republic was at this time in the French interest.

supplies, they were answered that "His Majesty needed it to pay the troops before they went to the siege of Martinique!"

Some of the vessels thus captured, were sent to other ports than where they were bound, where their cargoes were seized and confiscated, or bought, when not condemned, on such terms as the captors chose to dictate. This was the case with the brig Polly, Captain Cushing, who was boarded when three leagues distant from Fort Pellican, by the sloop Republican, Captain Pomey, who ordered him into port, the sloop's pilot carrying him into the harbor of Cape Francois. Here Captain Cushing was conducted out of the vessel by a guard of soldiers, to the presence of the general in command, to whom he showed the manifest of his cargo, for which he was offered less than the cost, the commandant saying "he should not leave port on any other conditions." His cargo was perishing and he was obliged to comply, and delivered it up to the Government on the 1st of September, to be paid for in coffee, sugar, and molasses in thirty-five days; but having waited until the 10th of November, he was put off twenty-five days longer, and at the end of that period, told "that the American captains" (many from other ports being there in the same dilemma,) "were to be paid in rotation;" and Captain Cushing, finding that his turn would not come for some four or five months, and little chance of prompt payment even then, his vessel being on expense all the time, concluded not to wait; but before leaving, prepared a protest to present to the Government; but this was not received, and the only official evidence that he could obtain, that he had not wilfully sacrificed his cargo, was a certificate to that effect from the American Consul at St. Croix.

Many American captains were long detained at Barbadoes, and when permission was given them to leave, and they reached the ports where their vessels had been sent, if anything was saved, much of the profits of the voyage was lost by the delay and expense attending the recovery. In a list of American vessels sold at public auction at Dominica in March, 1794, we find the "brig Polly, of Newburyport, for one hundred and sixty joes," (a Portuguese coin worth eight dollars.)

These were condemned on the ground of having broken the blockade.

Even the mulatto commandant, Le Point, then in temporary

authority at L'Accahye, under the sanction of Great Britain, and with the aid of a British privateer brig, presumed to arrest and detain American merchantmen, seizing upon the officers and crews, as incendiary "Republicans." To this privateer brig, Le Point made frequent and pompous visits, and having on one occasion made a signal from her for a small boat to take him on shore, (he having previously ordered the return of his own,) and none of the vessels in the harbor complying with the signal, he arrested ten American captains, whom he confined in a jail where there were over thirty negroes, and there kept them twenty-four hours without food or drink, until they paid twelve dollars apiece for jail fees. This Le Point had received his commission from Governor Williamson, of Jamaica. The names of the captains belonging to Newburyport, who were subjected to this insult, were John Holland of the brig Nancy, Nicholas Pierce, Elijah Mayhew, and Ant. Knapp.

But the fate of our citizens who were so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the Algerines, was much more to be commiserated. They were not only robbed of everything, but were at once reduced to a state of chattel slavery, without hope of release except as their countrymen might choose to seek their ransom. The following is the substance of a letter from Captain Timothy Newman, one of these victims, to his father, Dr. John Newman, in this town, dated March 12, 1794:

"On the 18th of October, I was captured by an Algerine corsair, and stripped of everything. On arriving at Algiers I was conducted to the Dey's house, and in the morning was sent to the slaves' bagnio, and there received an iron shackle round my leg and a chain of twenty pounds, and three loaves of coarse bread for twenty-four hours, and some water, and was immediately put to hard labor. My situation is so deplorable that to mention but a small part would require much longer time than I am allowed. I wish you to make this known to Payne Wingate and Benjamin Goodhue,† who I trust will do everything they can to procure my release."

* That is, French "Jacobins," inimical to the authority of Great Britain over the island.

† Member of Congress.

In a list of ten American vessels taken by the Algerines during the latter part of the year 1793, was the brig Polly, Captain Michael Smith, of Newburyport.

The fate of these wretched men excited intense sympathy in all classes of the community; an appeal in their behalf was made in this town, which was read from the pulpits of the various churches on the Sabbath preceding the general Thanksgiving, and contributions were taken up to aid in ransoming them,* but the Dey, persuaded that the Government would ultimately redeem them, at an exorbitant price, and Congress being unwilling to encourage their piracy by stimulating and rewarding their avarice, the negotiations for their release were not concluded until 1796.

The following extract is from a letter of Captain Michael Smith, of this town, dated "Algeirs, September 9th," 1796, and addressed to a gentleman here: "We have all been liberated from slavery, and now only wait for a vessel which is to take us to Philadelphia, where I expect to arrive about December. * * * All here from Newburyport are well."

Among these captives was Mr. — Bailey, son of Samuel Bailey of this town, but his ransom came too late; he died from the effects of his cruel servitude before reaching his home.

But the profits arising from successful voyages were so great, and the number of vessels which managed to escape from the complicated perils of the times was so large, that though we omit all mention of numbers of similar cases, the commercial prosperity of the town was unchecked by these high-handed outrages on our commerce. In 1790 there were owned here but six ships, forty-five brigantines, thirty-nine schooners, and twenty-eight sloops, with an aggregate tonnage of 11,870. About a dozen years later, the shipping of this port was estimated at 30,000 tons.

While our seamen in foreign ports and on the highway of the ocean were encountering perils that the sailor of to-day knows nothing about, save as the faithful page of history, or the glowing tales of romance have preserved them for his instruction and entertainment, the dwellers on the land were rapidly advancing in their

* One gentleman, whose name we have not learned, gave \$4000, "enough to redeem a master or supercargo."

several departments, and internal improvements followed, if they did not quite keep pace with the enterprise of our mariners.

On turning to the Town Records for 1796, we are pleasantly surprised at the change in the currency. "*Exeunt* pounds and *enter* dollars!" is the natural exclamation, as we see, for the first time, this insignia of American Independence used in the estimates of the annual town expenses. There had been, previous to the introduction of the continental bills, but one other considerable change in the currency of Massachusetts; the English money being in common circulation from the first settlement of the country, except during a period of forty-eight years, from 1702 to 1750, when a paper currency was introduced into New England by the Colonial Government, bearing on the face of the bills the promise of future redemption, which promises were met, like those of the Continental Congress, only with new emissions. The consequences were the same, though the necessities of the case were not. The money which is now known as "old tenor," sunk in value so as to compare with coin, which was distinguished as "lawful money" in Massachusetts, $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; in some other parts of New England even lower. The "old tenor" currency was a monetary invention, introduced to meet the expenses of the French war; and in 1750 Parliament reimbursed Massachusetts for her exertions during that war by sending over a large sum of money, all in silver. With this specie, Governor Hutchinson proposed to redeem the bills of credit, which was done, and "old tenor" bills became an illegal tender; and so determined was Massachusetts to root out every vestige of this deceptive currency, that it was subsequently enacted "that no person could commence a suit at law, or be eligible to any office of honor or profit, without taking oath that he "had taken no paper money since 1750."*

* One Joseph Green, of Boston, wrote a somewhat celebrated dirge, set to the tune of Chevy Chase, "On the death of Mr. Old Tenor," in which he shows the good which "Old Tenor" had done in his life, and lugubriously laments over his death. The ballad is of some length; we extract but a verse or two

"Led on by him, our soldiers bold
Against the foe advance;
And took, in spite of wet and cold,
Strong Cape Bréton from France.

* * * * *

Commerce, religion, and education were the staple objects of solicitude at this period, and by the following extract it will be seen that we have not overrated the early interest of Newburyport in the education of the young:

"By a late visitation of the selectmen and school committee of this town to the public schools, it appears that there are about nine hundred children now educating at the expense of the town. Notwithstanding the smallness of this town when compared with Boston, there are *two more public schools here than there are in that place*. Such is the opinion of the inhabitants of this town with regard to the necessity of well educating the rising generation, that they cheerfully support *nine* public, and several private schools."—*Essex Journal*, Newburyport, 1798.

One of the most important rights, affecting personal liberty, was obtained by Newburyport during the year 1794. This was procured by the passage of an act incorporating the several religious societies then existing, and enlarging the liberty of the individual by permitting him to attend what place of worship he chose, without being liable to be taxed for the support of a ministry with which he had no sympathy. It seems almost incredible that the descendants of the Pilgrims in Newburyport never acquired this essential of religious liberty till more than a century after their settlement here; yet such is the fact. The evil effects of its delay are amply exemplified in the early history of the churches in this town.* By this act no person was to be taxed in more than one parish, and in that which he attended; and only to be taxed so long as he thus attended, every person being required to give notice, in writing, of his intention to withdraw from the society with which he

"The merchants, too,—those topping folks,
To him owe all their riches;
Their ruffles, lace, and scarlet cloaks,
And eke their velvet breeches.

* * * * *

"In Senate he like Cæsar fell,
Pierced through with many a wound;
He sunk, ah! doleful tale to tell,
The members sitting round!"

* See Sketch of First Presbyterian Church.

had been in the habit of worshipping; his attendance being deemed proof of membership. It was still, however, presumed by the law, that every person must attend *some* place of public worship, and pay a tax to *some* society. The presumption was founded on the consideration that the public recognition of the Christian religion was a public benefit, and a means of insuring the peace of the community and the permanency of our political institutions. It was therefore argued, that for a public benefit of which every individual was a recipient, whether he attended on preaching or not, each should pay a due proportion of the cost.

It was not till 1834 that the Legislature of Massachusetts passed an act distinctly releasing any from the liability to pay taxes for the support of religious worship. By the "Act relating to Parishes and Religious Freedom," passed in April, 1834, it is provided by Section 2, that "No person shall hereafter be made a member of any parish or religious society, so as to be liable for a tax therein for the support of public worship, or other parish charges, *without his express consent, first had and obtained.*"

The passage of an act bestowing only so much religious freedom as that of 1794, tended greatly to harmonize the ecclesiastical affairs of the town, as the records of the various parishes abundantly prove.

As the progress of the community was towards a perfect freedom, — yet indeed unattained, but drawing nearer with each succeeding year, — we find some spicy bits of evidence, that the *ladies* of Newburyport were resolved not to be behind the times; among others, an amusing account is given, in a number of the Impartial Herald, for February, 1795, of the celebration of Washington's birthday, by the ladies; on which occasion we find the following democratic and progressive toasts offered:

"*Marie Charlotte Cordé** — May each of Columbia's daughter be ready, *like her*, to sacrifice her life to Liberty."

And again:

"*The Fair Patriots of America* — May they never fail to assert *their* Independence, which Nature *equally* dispenses."

How many participated in this public demonstration, is not mentioned.

* The assassin of Marat.

Not only were the spiritual and mental needs of the community thus freely catered for, but the selectmen, evidently convinced that the people under their paternal guardianship, needed sound and good physical aliment, as well as spiritual, passed the following order respecting the weight and quality of bread, to the confounding of all dishonest bakers, if any such there were :

	lb.	oz.
"Two-penny white loaf to weigh		8
Four-penny " " " "	1	
Six-penny " " " "	1	8
Biscuit of one penny each,		4
Biscuit of two pence each,		8
Four-penny brown loaf, three-quarters wheat, and one-quarter rye meal,	1	8
Four-penny brown loaf, not more than half Indian meal,	2	

"The bakers in town are required to mark their bread, which they bake for sale, with the first letters of their Christian names, and with the first and last letters of their surnames.

All that is made of different grain, or proportion from this assize, must be seized."

"By order of the Selectmen;

"August 22, 1796.

ENOCH TITCOMB, Town Clerk."

Several by-laws were also passed about this time, for the security of the town against fire. Indeed, from the frequency with which reference was made to this subject, in the municipal government of the town, it would appear that our ancestors had a faithful presentiment, that "Fire" would at last write "Ichabod" on the fame of Newburyport, and extinguish, as it did, the aspirations of a whole generation. All the glory of the past being covered by the ever brooding shadow of that dire calamity.

With a view to preventing accidental fires, it was forbidden any person to smoke a pipe or cigar in any of the streets or alleys of the town, on the wharves, or any place where danger could possibly exist ; and a fire having occurred at Pine Island,* in December, it was

* Three or four miles from the town.

thereupon voted, in town meeting, "that a night watch of ten persons be appointed, to continue until May," the watch to be sustained by the citizens in due rotation, in alphabetical order. It was also recommended to the inhabitants "to keep a barrel of water in their houses, impregnated with marine salt, pot or pearl ashes, alum or copperas, to put out fires; and at the engine houses the firemen were requested to keep a butt of the same on wheels."

Conduits had been previously sunk by order of the selectmen. People were forbidden to carry fire through the streets, "except in a safe, close-covered vessel,"* and the inhabitants were requested "to leave open a shutter in the rooms where they usually kept a fire at night, that the watchmen might see if the fire kindled up, and give due notice."

Some of the regulations intended to preserve the town from this species of calamity were almost ludicrous. In 1794 the town by vote seriously recommended the inhabitants, in case of fire, to "take their buckets with them, and to fill them at the most convenient place, so as to be ready when they came to the fire to assist in quenching the flames." How many miles a person was "recommended" to run with a bucket of water is not laid down; but another order exemplifies, if nothing else, the *honesty* of the people. "All carpenters, and such as use axes in their business," were requested, on alarm of fire, to take them with them, the town engaging, if they were lost, to make good the value. We would by no means infer that the morality of the moderns has depreciated; but we do think, did such a custom obtain now, the city would be obliged to keep on hand an ample supply of new axes to restore those which would *inevitably* be lost at every fire.

The due "area of freedom" for dogs was also allotted, and is thus naïvely limited by an order of the selectmen some years later: "From the 1st of January to the 31st of December, no dog shall go at large except he be confined by a chain or rope of not greater length than ten feet."

Manufacturing was yet an untried experiment to the capitalist; but we find that as early as 1793 a woollen factory was projected

* When wood was the only fuel, neighbors often borrowed "a coal of fire" to kindle with.

here, and in 1794, incorporated, raised, and carried on under the auspices of gentlemen in this town. Water being then the principal power for the movement of complicated machinery, a site for the building was purchased on Parker river, in what is now the parish of Byfield. This pioneer company was subjected to all the trials and losses which ever beset the introduction of a new manufacture, involving the use of complicated and imperfect machinery; yet the records of the first thirteen years' existence of this company (the first incorporated for the manufacture of woollen in the United States) show a spirit of enterprise and perseverance which nothing but the adverse policy of the country could have overcome.

By the act of incorporation, the company was permitted to hold property, real and personal, to the amount of eighteen thousand pounds. The land was bought of a Mr. Moody, who had previously improved the "Newbury falls" by the erection of a grist mill. There were at first one hundred and twenty shares. These were afterwards increased to two hundred, and were all bought by Newburyport capitalists, with but one or two exceptions, Mr. William Bartlett taking twenty shares. The next year a petition was presented to the Legislature to exempt the property and the workmen employed in the factory from taxation; but this was not granted, so far as appears by the books. We find on them a long array of assessments, but no dividends; and in 1798 it was voted by the directors to carry on the mill "if laborers could be procured for one-eighth less than the year preceding," which does not indicate a great surplus revenue. The process of manufacturing was a great curiosity. Slatersville was then but in embryo, and Lowell and Lawrence were yet to be heard of. So many strangers visited the factory from motives of curiosity, that a small charge for admission was made.

In 1797 the company again petitioned the Legislature for aid, but nothing effectual was done. The goods on hand were sold off at auction, and money was obliged to be hired to pay the laborers. Thus they dragged on some six or seven years longer, when the affairs of the company were wound up, and the factory and other property sold, Mr. Bartlett buying out the original holders, and selling out to an Englishman, who continued to manufacture broad-cloth and flannel till 1806. Some cotton cloth was also made in this factory, which sold for seventy-five cents a yard.

All the machinery used in the establishment was made in Newburyport by Messrs. Guppy & Armstrong, and the original cost of the entire concern was \$50,000. In 1822 it was sold (additional buildings having been erected) for \$22,000, and in 1846 it was again sold for \$4,350. The main building has for many years been used as a bedstead factory.

Coëval with this enterprise, was that of clearing the Merrimac from the obstructions which interfered with inland navigation; the particular object at this time being to render the river passable for boats and rafts below the Pawtucket falls. The first serious obstruction to vessels, was the rapids, called "Mitchell's eddy," between Bradford and Haverhill. Much of the lumber then used in this vicinity, was brought down the river on rafts, so constructed as to pass all the falls except those by Amoskeag and Pawtucket; but boats were not safe where rafts freely passed. Several towns on the river united in this project, Newburyport subscribing in the first instance, between twelve and thirteen hundred dollars, and, as the committee reported, "with a prospect of getting more." But its importance was not fully realized, and the scheme failed of effectual support.

In the summer of 1796 a malignant fever broke out in the town, a disease then practically unknown to the members of the medical faculty here, but which was very similar to, if not identical with, the yellow fever of the South. It first appeared in a house on Water street, at the foot of Independent, and was supposed by some to have originated on the spot to which it was for some time confined, none taking it but such as had visited there, or received it from those who had; the more probable conjecture was, that it was brought in a vessel from the West Indies. But whatever was its origin, great alarm was reasonably excited, and many persons fled from the town, in which fifty-five, including the most eminent physician in the place,* died, before the ravages of the disease ceased. It disappeared with the frost, and has never since revisited the town in an epidemic form.

The next year, when Philadelphia was suffering from a similar

J. Barnard Sweet. See Biographical Notice.

scourge, Newburyport sent on a contribution of six hundred dollars for the suffering poor of that city. But local affairs were not long permitted to engross the attention of the citizens.

The Government of the United States, finding that no treaty obligations were observed by France, that our vessels were embargoed in French ports, and that their cruisers and privateers were annually sweeping off millions of American property, were at last aroused to defensive measures; letters-of-marque were issued, and the basis of a navy for the protection of American interests was planned. The brothers Stephen and Ralph Cross built here, to the order of the State, the frigates "Hancock," "Boston," and "Protector," and Mr. Orlando Merrill* built for the General Government the brig "Pickering."

In the measures of the Government Newburyport warmly sympathized, and though aware that they might be again called upon to make great sacrifices of their personal interests, if a declaration of war should follow, they did not hesitate to come forward, and by public action, express their approval of this late preparation for resistance to French aggression. An address was forwarded to the President, in which, after expressing their confidence in the administration, and their surprise at the arbitrary and unfriendly spirit of the French, and their indignation at the utter want of justice and continued disposition to repel all conciliatory measures, they say, "The inhabitants of this town duly appreciate the blessings of peace and neutrality, but they will never complain at the loss of those blessings, when constrained to sacrifice them to the honor, the dignity, and the essential interests of their country." To this address a prompt reply was returned by President Adams, in which he remarks: "The address of the inhabitants of the ancient, populous and wealthy town of Newburyport, passed *without a dissentient voice*, as certified by

* Mr. Merrill, who is still living, (April, 1854,) was then a young man and without property, but had already established such a character for industry and integrity, that a friend "of different politics," as he is proud to remember, (Mr. Lowell Parsons,) voluntarily assumed the bond of \$10,000, required by the Government, that the brig should be completed in ninety days; which was accomplished, and an enlisting rendezvous opened, for seamen to man her, in July, 1798. Mr. Merrill is now 94 years of age; one of the many natives of Newburyport over four-score and ten years.

your selectmen, and, presented to me by your representative in Congress, Mr. Bartlett,* does me great honor ; * * * and the solemn pledge of your lives and fortunes to support the measures of the legislature and administration, are all the assurances which the best of Governments could desire from the best of citizens."

A number of the more wealthy citizens, anxious to serve the Government, made the proposition to Congress through their representative, the Hon. Bailey Bartlett,† to build and equip for the United States, a ship of three hundred and fifty-five tons, mounting twenty six-pound cannon ; agreeing not to accept any other compensation than the interest of six per cent. per annum, and a final reimbursement of the net cost, "at the convenience of the Government." This, at a time when the treasury was low and beset with calls, was considered a very generous offer. It was accepted, and the vessel was built, under the direction of Mr. William Hackett, in the short space of seventy-five days. She was named the "Merrimac,"‡ and launched on the 12th of October. Her commander was Captain Moses Brown, (the same who commanded the privateer "Arnold" during the Revolutionary war,) and was soon after ordered to Guadeloupe, "to look after French privateers." In the West Indies she gave a good account of herself, as may be seen on referring to the biographical notice of her commander. A cotemporary writer says of her, "The Merrimac was the first and best vessel of her size, furnished on loan to the Government, and was built at a much less expense than any other built for the Government. She was employed in the United States service about five years ; until, in accordance with Mr. Jefferson's plan, the navy was reduced ; when she was sold under the name of the Monticello, for the merchant service, and was soon after wrecked on Cape Cod.

At this time merchant vessels occasionally went armed, as appears from the following letter, written by Captain Brown (of the U. S. ship "Merrimac") to Mr. William Bartlett, the owner of the ship referred to.

* Hon. Bailey Bartlett, of Haverhill.

† The Committee who addressed him, were William Bartlett, William Coombs, Dudley A. Tyng, Moses Brown, William P. Johnson, Nicholas Johnson, William Farris, Ebenezer Stocker, Samuel A. Otis, Jr.

‡ See Biographical notice of Moses Brown, U. S. N., for further particulars of the "Merrimac."

“ August 20, 1799.

“ I suppose you have heard of the fate of your ship *Rose*, but perhaps not particulars ; the enclosed list is an authentic account of the killed and wounded. Captain Chase behaved with the greatest bravery and conduct, but at last was overpowered and boarded.

The *Rose* was taken the beginning of the present month (August) by the privateer *L'Egypt Conquise*, and after a brave defence of one hour and a half, was obliged to submit to superior force ; the mate and two men being killed, and Captain Chase and fifteen others wounded, two severely. The privateer was hulled very dangerously before Captain Chase was wounded.”

This ship, with her cargo, was one of the most valuable that ever sailed from Newburyport to the West Indies.

With the close of the eighteenth century, the guiding spirit of the early days of the Republic, the leader of her armies, the chief of her councils, having lived to see the Federal Union, which he so much loved, consolidated on his own principles, and having seen a successor imbued with his own policy, elevated to the office he had so well filled and so nobly resigned, — George Washington, whose fame has now become the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race, calmly and peacefully closed his senses on all earthly scenes, and bewailing their own loss, a continent was in mourning.

In unison with the feelings of the whole community, all business was suspended in Newburyport on the day appointed for the public services on the occasion of the death of Washington.

A procession was formed in Market Square, which proceeded to the Rev. Mr. Dana's meeting-house, where the eulogy appointed for the occasion, was delivered by Mr. Thomas (afterwards *Robert Treat*) Paine, prayer being offered by the Right Rev. Bishop Bass. Many were present who well remembered his visit to the town, and who took part in welcoming him on that joyful occasion ; and theirs, with thousands of others through the land, was a personal sorrow. Mourning badges were worn by both ladies and gentlemen, many wearing also the Perkins medal.* The Masonic

* This was designed by the celebrated Jacob Perkins, of Newburyport. On one side of it was a likeness of the first President, encircled with a wreath,

Association of St. Peter's Lodge took a prominent part in the ceremonies of the day. In George Washington the Order had lost a brother.

With 1800, there appears on the stage a new generation of politicians; not that the men of the Revolution were all defunct, but their opinions and political predilections were no longer considered infallible by the younger aspirants for political honors; yet in Newburyport, the principles of Washington and Adams maintained their ascendancy, and the new party, baffled (in Essex County,) on the election of Governor Bowdoin, successor to Hancock, stigmatized the clique, most prominent among the Federal leaders, as the "*Essex Junto*." In the political history of Massachusetts, this clique for years exerted an influence large indeed, but absurdly exaggerated by their opponents. Among the most active members of the Junto were prominent citizens of Newburyport, — men who from their learning and personal weight of character it was not easy to overthrow; among them was Theophilus Parsons, (Judge,) John Lowell, (Judge,) Rev. Thomas Cary, Jonathan Jackson, Nathaniel Tracy, William Coombs, Esqrs. &c.; and with these of Newburyport, were associated the most active Federalists of the county. The older citizens of Newburyport will well remember the animosity which the "*Essex Junto*" excited among the increasing Democracy of the State.

Various material improvements were also projected: the mall by Frog pond was reduced to shape and seemliness, by the liberal aid and generous exertions of Captain Edmund Bartlett, to whose honor a writer in the "*Impartial Herald*," endued with more gratitude than poetical genius, perpetrates a piece of rhyme, which describes the now clear and beautiful pond, as a "stagnant pool, across which scuds the social duck;" and attempting a daguerreotype of the surrounding scenery, locates a lottery-ticket office on the side opposite the graveyard, and designates the gun-house by a sublime allusion to the place where

"The sleeping ordnance lays,
That welcomed Washington!!"

around which was imprinted the words, "He is in glory, the world in tears." On the reverse, were the dates of the prominent events of his life.

Indeed the local poetry of the past, as exhibited in the columns of the newspapers, is not of a style to excite much regret that so much of it has been consigned to oblivion ; as a specimen, read the following verse, one of many similar, on the death of Governor Hancock, published in the "Herald."

"Yes, all must yield to Death's remorseless rage ;
Creation's brow shall *wrinkle up with age* ;
Time shall remove the keystone of the sky,
Heaven's roof shall fall — but ah ! must HANCOCK die ?"

The coasting trade, as well as the foreign, was both extensive and profitable at this period, and though many of the vessels owned in Newburyport were of small size, and a great proportion registered as schooners, yet these, and even sloops, often carried very valuable cargoes. The freight that now loads down our railroad trains, was then principally brought into port by coasters. Sloops not unfrequently brought in cargoes valued at from eighty to one hundred thousand dollars. From the 14th of April to the 14th of May, 1805, one month, there were imported by citizens of Newburyport, goods to the value of eight hundred thousand dollars. The sloop "Blue Bird," a coaster between here and Boston, laden with English goods, polished hardware, fancy dry goods, West India goods, dry fish, woollens, books, paper, &c., in October, 1805, got ashore on North point, and though subsequently hauled up on Plum Island, but a small portion of her cargo, which was valued at ninety thousand dollars, was saved.*

* A few days after the disaster, a number of advertisements relating to the calamity, appeared in the Newburyport Herald, of which the following are specimens :

— & — present their *ingenuous* thanks to those whose prompt and persevering exertions rescued their property from loss, on board the sloop Blue Bird stranded on the 8th inst. October, 1805.

— proffers thanks to the gentlemen who so generously attended to save his property, while absent, from total destruction, in the late calamitous event ; he likewise tenders his acknowledgments to *those ladies* who assisted in *washing* and *drying* his goods, to preserve the same from ultimate ruin. October, 1805.

The editor of the Herald apologizes "for the bad appearance of the paper, much of which was soaked with salt water on board the Blue Bird." The paper containing the apology, is an irrefragable witness to the truth of it.

Of salt alone there was imported by Newburyport in one year, 1806, one hundred and thirty-three thousand eight hundred and five bushels. Much of it was probably used in salting cod fish which was exported.

With 1800, and the elevation of Napoleon, French depredations on our commerce were shortly renewed, but our Government endeavored to have them cancel some of the old scores before beginning a new account. At a meeting held in Newburyport, in 1802, of the "sufferers by French spoliations previous to 1800," Josiah Smith, E. Stocker, and S. A. Otis, were chosen a committee to receive all claims of Newburyport and neighboring towns against the French Government. The world knows *how* they have been paid. The claim of the nation was \$20,000,000, and the amount brought in by citizens of Newburyport and vicinity, was \$682,608.05. The number of vessels confiscated in whole or in part, with their cargoes, or detained to loss and injury, was 8 ships, 35 brigs, 27 schooners and four sloops;* seventy-four ship masters being thus

* Of this list the following were never subjected to adjudication, but were piratically plundered without even a *form* of trial:

Brig Vulture, with her cargo on board, was detained at Bordeaux from August, 1793, to April, 1794, and then released; claim for \$3,928 expenses.

Schooner Peggy and Polly—property to the amount of \$1,230 taken out of the vessel while in port, without adjudication.

Schooner Speedwell—loss \$3,200, not subjected to adjudication, but seized by an armed force at Cape Francois.

Schooner Eagle—\$5,650—captured July 27, 1798, by French privateer Democrat, not subjected to any legal adjudication, but carried to Curacoa and proceeds distributed among the captors.

Brig Vulture—\$6,756—captured and burned with her cargo of lumber at sea, by a French government ship.

Schooner Three Friends—\$8,800—captured by French privateer Patriot, cargo taken out and disposed of among the captors—manner not known.

Schooner Belisarius—\$3000—property taken by force and retained by the authorities at Cape Francois, without compensation.

Schooner Unity—\$6,120—not subjected to adjudication, but detained and property taken out at Hispaniola for the government, without any compensation.

Schooner Industry—\$2,500—not subjected to adjudication, but taken forcibly by an officer in port.

Schooner Sally—\$7,521—captured by French privateer L'Importe, of Cayenne, and burned at sea, without being carried in for trial.

injuriously interrupted in the prosecution of their voyages. The whole number of claimants whose names appear on behalf of themselves and others, is about ninety. One of our citizens, the late William Bartlett, Esq., was interested in these and subsequent claims on the French Government, to the amount of some one hundred and sixty-nine thousand dollars. The following memorandum of one or two vessels (from the original records) will give an idea of the *form* of recording the claims: "Brig Edmund, owned by William Bartlett—William Chase, master—captured by two French privateers, October 13th, 1798—was recaptured by the master, but subjected to adjudication. Loss \$1,355.23. The claim is made for loss sustained in the capture and expenses.

"The schooner Dolphin, John Pearson and others, owners, Thomas Buntin, master, captured by French privateer, *Bon Mere*. May 26 and 29, 1800, subjugated to adjudication at Guadeloupe, and then condemned. Loss of vessel, on cargo and freight, \$7,500. The vessel and cargo, wholly American, was first captured by a French privateer called the Phoenix, and ordered to Guadeloupe; but recap-

Schooner Speedwell—\$3,053—not subjected to trial, but property taken out by the government at Cape Francois.

Brig Ranger—\$5000—not subjected to adjudication, was bound for Guadeloupe, with a cargo of provisions, fish and lumber—was boarded near the land by a French privateer, who under pretence of piloting her in, put a prize-master and crew on board.

Brig Anna—\$2,336—not subjected to adjudication, but salvage paid.

Brig Mahitable—\$2,184—not subjected to adjudication, but salvage paid.

Brig Dove—\$723—robbed at sea, May, 1800, by a French privateer.

Brig Peter—\$3,600—not adjudicated—loss by four months' detention in port.

Brig Betsey—\$6,976—nor subjected to adjudication.

Brig Tryall—\$15,596—was bound to the West Indies, with a cargo of provisions and lumber—captured, a few days after sailing, by a French privateer, carried into port, and without adjudication, plundered.

Brig Minerva—\$3,424—captured by a French privateer, and not subjected to adjudication.

Sloop Hero—\$2,696—property taken out by the government at St. Domingo, for public use, and receipted for by the authorities, but no compensation made.

There are several others in the list which were never subjected to adjudication, and in many other cases there was no adjudication which came to the knowledge of the claimants.

tured by master and people, and again captured by French privateer and carried into Guadeloupe, and condemned there.

"Schooner Union, Micajah Lunt, owner and master, captured by French privateer, L'Experience; subjected to adjudication at Basse-terre, Guadeloupe, and condemned; loss \$800, property of the claimant, an American citizen."

But under Napoleon, it was not France only, but likewise all her satellites who were employed to entrap our property. Denmark, while under the dictation of France, became as expert as her teachers in wresting money from American shipmasters. The ship Washington, Captain Joseph Brown, of this town, was carried into Copenhagen, on suspicion of being an English vessel in disguise. She was clearly proved to be American, and her cargo legal; yet the kind of justice administered may be learned from the following copy of the decree of the court:

"DECREE.—The ship Washington, litigated in this case, is hereby restored; yet so that the captain, Joseph Brown, shall pay to the privateer, Captain Ronne, *as a compensation for the expenses caused to the latter for bringing in the said vessel*, TWO THOUSAND RIX DOLLARS, Danish currency, and pay the court prizes, due to the prize court! For the rest, the costs of the process are annulled. The right of the custom house for the sound toll, not paid by the said ship on her preceding voyage, is reserved, the present owners seeking a remedy against the real persons concerned.

"Signed and sealed by the proper authority, February 12, 1812."

Vessels bound to Holland were equally liable to capture, nor was southern Europe a safer haven.

Captain Tucker, of the ship "William," wrote to his owners here: "I was captured on the last of April, 1808, by a Spanish privateer, who took four of my best men out of the ship, and sent a prize-master and eight men on board, ordering the ship to Malaga. Next day an English privateer came up with them, and after an engagement of an hour and a half, the Spaniard struck, and Captain Tucker, with his vessel, was taken into Gibraltar."

Captain Buntin wrote to his owners from Gibraltar, May 7, 1808, stating that after being taken by the French, on attempting to pass through the straits, he, with his crew, endeavored to retake the vessel, but did not succeed, several of his men being wounded.

After being plundered by the French, they were recaptured by the English, and carried into Gibraltar, from whence he intended to proceed to London with the first convoy sailing.

Nor was the British navy less voracious in its appetite for American vessels, (though occasionally relieving them from the French,) as we purpose to show in the next succeeding pages. In the Newburyport Herald of October 30, 1800, Governor Lincoln gives notice of fifty-one American seamen who had been impressed on board British ships, and could not get released without their friends forwarded certificates of citizenship. Two of these, John Tucker and William Pearson, hailed from Newburyport.

The ship *Huntress*, Captain Chase, on her first voyage, August 7, 1807, was taken and carried into Yarmouth by the British frigate *Amethyst*. The pretext was "that the greater part of the cargo was the produce of an enemy's colony, and though purchased by the present owners in the United States, that fact did not neutralize their *right* to make the seizure." This was new ground to take, as the vessels before condemned had brought the goods in the same bottom in which they were exported.

But not only on the high seas were seizures made of men and property; no mercy was shown in circumstances which ought to have excited the sympathy of barbarians. The brig *Peace*, of this place, Captain Edward Swain, was wrecked on the Cat Keys in a severe storm, by which several other American vessels also got ashore. His Britannic Majesty's schooner *De Couvert*, Lieutenant Boys, impressed several of the men, and on Captain Swain applying for their release, Lieutenant Boys insolently declared that "he intended to impress two men out of each crew, from the vessels wrecked there, and *one out of every four* belonging to an American ship." One of the most inexcusable instances of cruelty was that exercised upon Captain Isaac Bridges, of Newburyport, who was shot by the fire from a British cutter, on his refusal to risk his life in a small boat, on a rough sea, for the purpose of carrying his papers for examination on board of the cutter. The following account of the transaction is preserved:

"Isaac Bridges, master of the brig *Hannah*, of Newburyport, made the following deposition before John Street, Vice Consul for the United States at the Island of Fayal:

“I sailed from Newburyport on the 13th of March, in the said brig *Hannah*, sound and stanch, loaded with American produce and other articles not prohibited by any treaty between the belligerent powers. Nothing particular occurred till the 30th of March, when I observed a vessel at the stern, a heavy sea running. A short time after, the vessel fired a gun to leeward. I immediately showed the American colors, and took in sail to let her come up, and then found the vessel was an English cutter. Her captain hailed me and ordered me to send the boat on board; but the sea being turbulent, I observed the boat was too small, and not knowing how to swim, I would not trust myself in it; and that if he wished to search the brig, he must come to it at his own peril. The captain then threatened to fire, which I told him to do and be d—d, as I knew the treaty between England and the United States. Soon after, said cutter fired several muskets, and then came round the *Hannah* and fired muskets and great guns, and the third time that she fired, I received two very severe wounds, and my life being in danger in consequence, I have desired the Consul to take this protest against the barbarous proceeding of the captain of said cutter, the “*Providence*,” of London, the captain’s name being Phillip Le Roux.”

Captain Bridges died of his wounds, after lingering nineteen days in great suffering. The above deposition was signed by the Consul, mate, and four mariners.

But robbery and murder, under the more specious terms, but no less intolerable facts, of “adjudication” and “right of search,” were not the only injuries and indignities imposed on “the nation without a navy,” as ours might be then justly designated; as is too plainly proved, by the following affidavit of Captain Horton, of Newburyport, which he made before the Mayor of Philadelphia, respecting his treatment by the Governor of Surinam, he being at the time in the port of Paramaribo:

“Being loaded and ready for sea, I repaired to the Custom House for my clearance, but was informed that my certificate would not be signed, unless I took on board two negroes, (criminals,) who were under condemnation of banishment. I waited on the Governor, and explained to him the difficulty it would bring me into in America, if I should take them, and refused. He told me ‘then I must remain

where I was.' I then went to the American Consul, and desired him to take my protest, for that I would abandon my vessel. This he persuaded me not to do, and advised me to see the Governor again. I called at nine in the morning, but was refused an interview with him, by his secretary, who informed me that 'if I had come about the negroes, there was no alternative; *I must take them.*' I then asked for a written statement, showing that they were placed on board my vessel, by the Governor's authority, against my will, and that I received nothing for their passage; this was at first refused, but at last they consented, and gave me the certificate, [which was signed P. H. Spieing, Senator and Fiscal.] I was also informed that special orders would be sent down to the officer of the fort, at Bram's Point, to see that the criminals were on board when I passed, and to fire on any boat that should leave the vessel, or attempt to land, after I passed the fort.

"J. HAVENS HORTON,

"Master of schooner Julien, of Newburyport.

"Sworn, July 15, 1805. MATTHEW LAWLER, *Mayor.*"

The schooner Farmer, Captain Wilson, coming from Martinico, was taken by the English privateer Success, mounting two guns, and manned by Guinea negroes. Captain Wilson says: "The English commander declared I was a *dead prize*, and ordered me to give up my papers, which I refused. But detaining us till the next day, he overhauled my papers, and then ordered us to Nevis; where, after *paying expenses*, we were cleared. The excuse he gave for taking us was, we had *too much property* for the cargo to be American."

A gentleman writing from London, May, 1806, thus describes the mode of proceeding in regard to American vessels brought to English ports for adjudication, being captured on their way to Holland:

"When a vessel is brought in, on suspicion, from the United States, all her letters are forwarded, by the captors, to Doctor's Commons, [the courts of law] where they are indiscriminately opened; those necessary, or of importance to the trial, are preserved, while others are left open to the inspection of visitors. Thus family secrets are exposed, and letters designed solely for the eye

of intimate friendship, are subjected to the ridicule of strangers; many are attracted to their examination by mere curiosity, and others by baser motives."

Similar indignities—impressment, confiscations, and every species of spoliation—were the risks to be encountered by masters, ship owners, and shipping merchants, with but brief intervals of unmolested ocean traffic, from the peace of 1783 to the more permanent and real peace of 1814. Notices like the following were of frequent occurrence in the journals of those times :

" PORTLAND, 1812.

" Impressed, from on board schooner Humphrey, on the voyage from Martinico to Charleston, Robert Masters and Joseph Safford. They sailed from Newburyport in December last. Any person duly authorized may receive their clothes, &c., by application to Samuel Chandler."

As late as 1842, a sailor advertises in the Newburyport Herald for an " old ship-mate, whom he desired to share a fortune with." Fifty years before, in 1792, he had been pressed out of an American ship in such cruel haste, that he had not time to ask the address of his favorite companion.

If the question is asked, Why did our people submit to these outrages, why did not our merchantmen *all* go armed and prepared to retaliate? the reply is that *Government* discountenanced this; and with all their indigenous love of personal liberty, the Americans are emphatically a law-abiding people. Respect for the Government could alone have prevented the general arming of our merchantmen at this period.

As early as January 1st, 1805, a bill was passed by Congress, forbidding armed vessels to leave the United States, and if any such left, not specially permitted, and having a regular clearance, the vessel was subject to forfeiture, and the captain to imprisonment; and to add to the stringency of the law, it was farther provided, that if any vessel thus armed, in rencounter with vessels of any nation " with whom the United States were at peace, should commit any deed which in the United States was deemed

* Herald, April 12, 1808.

felony or murder, it should be so considered if committed on the high seas." And as the United States, as a nation, was "at peace" with Great Britain, France, and her *pro tempore* dependencies, our mariners were effectually prevented from defending themselves, or retaliating on their principal oppressors. It was the policy of the then existing Government to maintain peace by *avoiding* collisions, rather than by asserting rights; but finally, measures were adopted with a view to punish the aggressors; which in their practical effects, did more damage to the commerce of the Eastern States than all the confiscations of England and the continental powers combined.

The first of this series of restrictive acts was the Embargo Act, in 1807, by which vessels were forbidden to go to any foreign port whatever. For contravention of this act, the owners and shippers were liable to a suit for *double* the value of the vessel and cargo, and the master to a fine of not less than \$1000 for every offence; and his oath was henceforth inadmissible before any collector of the United States.

Thus both the export and import trade were killed at one blow. Even owners of whalers and fishing vessels, were required to give bonds, in four times the value of their vessels, that they would not go to any foreign port. For disregard of the act, the vessel was liable to forfeiture, and all concerned in it to a fine of from \$1000 to \$20,000. This apparent severity to the fishers,* was excused on the ground that they would be used as a cover to an illegal trade.

The record of so many mercantile annoyances, would leave the impression, if not counterbalanced by other facts, that this, the *third period* in the history of Newburyport, was one of unexampled mercantile disasters; but the fact remains, that during this period the town increased rapidly in wealth and population,† mainly from the extensive and profitable commerce carried on; large fortunes

* There had cleared for the Labrador fisheries this year, before the passage of the Embargo Act, vessels having an aggregate *tonnage* of 4,407. Reckoning one man to every nine tons, the general rule, this would give 490 men engaged in the fisheries, sailing from this port in that season.

† In 1801, Newburyport was the third town as regards population, in Massachusetts; only Boston and Salem exceeding her, and no other approaching to the same number, except Nantucket.

were made, and general comfort and competence prevailed. By referring to the tonnage table, it will be seen that from the year 1795 to 1806, twelve years, there was the enormous amount of 253,521-27 tons of shipping employed in Newburyport. In 1802, the duties on imports amounted to \$200,695. In 1805 there belonged to the port, forty-one ships, sixty-two brigs, two snows, two barques and sixty-six schooners, with sloops and other small craft.

And not only was wealth pouring in upon our merchants; the social and intellectual condition of the town, partook of this prosperity, several valuable libraries were collected and sustained, which helped to keep alive the intellectual activities of the people; while the debating societies became schools of elocution for the young men whose names afterwards adorned the senate, the pulpit and the bar.

The County Court House, now standing, was erected in 1805, at the joint expense of the town and county; the former occupying it only for the annual town meetings, and one of the lower rooms for a girls' summer school. In 1834 the county bought out the interest of the town, and much improved the interior of the house.

During the last year, (1858,) the Court House has undergone extensive alterations, the figure of "Justice" has been removed, and the entire exterior of the house modernized, and finished with mastic cement of a dark brown color. The alterations cost \$12,400, and the new furnishing of the rooms brought the total expense of the improvements up to more than \$13,000. It is now the best in the county, nor is it excelled by any in the State.

Since 1782 the town has made many efforts to procure a sitting of the Supreme Court in this place, but hitherto without success. It was advocated in 1782, at the time a bill was introduced into the General Court, for removing the Supreme Judicial Court from Ipswich to Salem, on the ground, "that from the increase of commerce, suits connected with commerce and navigation would necessarily increase, while real suits would become comparatively scarce."

In 1820 it was voted in a town meeting, to petition the General Court that a term of the Supreme Court might be held here.

In 1821, the selectmen were appointed a committee to correspond with the other towns in the county, to procure their concurrence

in petitioning that a term of the Supreme Court be held here. Nearly similar measures were adopted in 1824 and 1835; and at other times, until the unsuccessful application to the Legislature of 1854.

The Plum Island turnpike and bridge were also built in 1805; and we may imagine the difficulties which beset the pleasure-seekers who sought Plum Island's "sea-girt shores," before this desirable enterprise was carried into effect. Before the bridge was built, a primitive kind of ferriage was established, in the shape of a large flat-bottomed boat, which safely conveyed man and horse and the various *et cetera* essential to a Plum Island party, across the river at high tide; but wo betide the loiterers who arrived too late to take it at the full, for then a small boat only, could take foot passengers across, while animals or other cumbrous articles, must even wait for the next rising of the tide. About building this bridge there was the usual opposition to be encountered; a petition of the proprietors of salt-marsh, on Plum Island, was presented against it. It was not however interrupted, but was opened to the public in August, 1806.

A proposal was made, about this time, to fill up the flats below South street, and thus *make* several acres of land; a project which promised more for the improvement of the harbor, than any other; but the necessities of that time not being so great as the increased size of modern ships has made them, the advantages of this project were overlooked, and the plan failed to be acted upon, — perhaps for the reason, that many of the heaviest capitalists were involved, at this period, in completing the turnpike road to Boston; a heavy work, and one which deserved better remuneration than it received.

But it was not only on works of internal improvement, that energy, time, and money, were expended; the records of the various churches and benevolent societies show the exercise of a praiseworthy liberality, corresponding with the state of the town; as an instance of which, it may be mentioned that a collection of nine hundred and fifty dollars was taken up in August, 1806, at one time, "to aid in printing the Bible in the Indian languages."

One of the most pleasing charitable institutions was instituted in 1808; namely, the establishment of an asylum for female orphans. The original fund procured by subscription was about fifteen hundred dollars. During the first twenty years of its existence, this association provided for over fifty orphan girls. This society has since died out.

Newburyport was among the first towns which opened subscriptions to build a National Washington Monument, and liberal sums were subscribed here in 1802; and so sanguine were her citizens, of a hearty response on this subject, that they decided *no one should give more than ten dollars*, and if more than enough was collected, (throughout the country,) which was then thought probable, it was agreed to devote it to building a National University! Perhaps one of the most convincing proofs of the advance of society, was the steadily increasing support given to the permanent newspaper established here, which the editor did not fail, at regular intervals, to announce; the subscription list and improvements in the paper, keeping pace with each other. To avoid being tedious we have not always introduced into the text the exact time and other data, concerning some works of public improvement or enterprise. These will all be found under their appropriate heads in the Miscellany and Chronological Index, to which we refer the reader; by reference to which, it will be found that most of the successful enterprises of the town, were conducted to completion during either the *third* or *sixth* epoch of its history.

Several branches of business flourishing through this period have since died out. Ten or twelve distilleries* and a brewing establishment† gave employment to a large number of persons; while the manufacture of cordage was one of the most important interests dependent on our mercantile success; sugar refining was also a profitable business, and in the manufacture of gold beads and silver buckles, large capitals were invested, and combs and horn buttons were made in considerable quantities; the comb business is revived (1853) in Newburyport.

*In the procession which escorted Washington on his entrance to Newburyport through the town, the "distillers" marched as a distinct body.

† Robert Laird's beer, porter and ale, were famed throughout the country.

In this era flourished the great inventor, Jacob Perkins,* and Timothy Palmer; to the latter, Newburyport is much indebted for the regularity of the streets and the improvements of the public grounds and ways. Under his directing genius, the Mall began to assume shape and symmetry, and Market square was laid out; encumbrances and encroachments speedily vanished from the highways over which he presided.

In 1796, Mr. Palmer received a patent for "improvement in the construction of timber bridges." The principal bridges on the Kennebec, Piscataqua, Connecticut and Merrimac rivers, including the Essex Merrimac bridge, were built upon his models, as was also the bridge across the Schuylkill, at Philadelphia. Mr. Adams, in his "Annals of Portsmouth," says of the Piscataqua bridge: "This arch was constructed by Timothy Palmer, Esq., of Newburyport, on a model entirely new, and does him great credit for his skill in architecture."

But the greatest contrast between the present time and the social era that passed away with the first decade of the nineteenth century, was the degree of style and fashion observed by the wealthy. Every family of any pretension kept their family carriage, footman, and coachman; and ladies their own saddle-horses. The deep wine-cellar under some of the old mansions broadly hint of the stores of Port and Burgundy which once filled their now dreary depths, while vessel after vessel, arriving direct with rich silks, velvets, and laces from France, enabled our grandmothers to appear in costumes which would awaken the envy of many a modern belle. A spacious assembly room, with elegantly furnished drawing rooms connected, then stood in Temple street, at which the belles of seventy years ago displayed their charms and accomplishments. The town never presented so gay an appearance as it did for twenty-five years after the peace of 1783. A wedding cortège of that time is thus described by a cotemporary:

"The bride and bridegroom arrived yesterday. Mr. ——'s splendid new carriage was drawn by six white horses. They had four outriders, and all the horses were decked with white favors. His footmen and coachmen are put into new liveries," † &c.

* See Biographical Notice.

† From a private letter.

The very different style of living from that which now prevails, is observable in the advertisements of that period. Among the "wants" we frequently find "Wanted, a handsome span of carriage horses;" "Wanted, a porter—a gardener, who understands hot-house plants—a man to wait at table," &c. One teacher gives "private lessons in all the fashionable dances;" another teaches "the broadsword exercise," &c., while the frequent festivals held among the Masonic fraternity and other bodies, evince a determination to enjoy life and diffuse wealth, which would now be looked upon with the severest criticism. But life was not all consumed in light amusements, though social intercourse was somewhat freer, and the interchange of social hospitalities was more frequent than is now customary. The leaders who gave tone to society in this era were men of unusual talent and force of character, and the public partook, to some extent, of their tastes, if we may judge from the character of the books published and sold here by any one of the firms then in business. The booksellers' advertisements during this period show a more classical selection than can now be found in State street. There appear to have been concentrated here more means of enjoyment, both physical and intellectual, than have since been attainable this side of Boston. Quite a number of families had their town and winter residences. The beautiful estates of Dalton* and Hooper were the pride of Essex county, while the liberality and hospitality of the citizens were proverbial.

All public gatherings were managed on a like liberal scale. Ordinations of ministers were not then, as now, concluded with an address, an anthem, and a tumbler of cold water. The physical man was as well entertained as the mental. The expenses of Rev. Thomas Cary's ordination were £35 18s. 2½d., and some coming later than he, saw as liberal provisions made for the guests of the day. At funerals, also, entertainment was provided for all who attended. Liquors and

* The estate now occupied by Dr. Robinson, in Newbury, and then called "Spring Hill," from the numerous springs which still vivify its summit, was once owned by Mr. Dalton, and used by him as a summer residence. In the *Impartial Herald*, of July, 1794, we find the following notice:

"The Hon. Tristram Dalton, lady, and suite, arrived in this town on the 5th instant from the seat of government, and proceeded next day to his seat at Spring Hill."

more solid refreshments were freely consumed, while gloves and scarfs were always given to the near friends of the deceased — sometimes to the whole company assembled.

With the incoming of the nineteenth century, garments more in conformity with present fashions took precedence of three-cornered hats, long coats with immense pocket folds and cuffs, but without collars, in which the men of the eighteenth century prided themselves, with their buttons of pure silver, or plated, of the size of a half dollar, presenting a great superfluity of coat and waistcoat when contrasted with the short nether garments, ycleped "breeches," or "small clothes," which reached only to the knee, being there fastened with large silver buckles, which ornament was also used in fastening the straps of shoes. The gentlemen quite equalled the ladies at this period in the amount of finery, and the brilliancy of colors in which they indulged. A light blue coat, with large fancy buttons, a white satin embroidered waistcoat, red velvet breeches, silk stockings, and buckled shoes, with a neckcloth, or scarf of finely embroidered cambric, or figured stuff, the ends hanging loose the better to show the work, and liberal bosom and wrist-ruffles, (the latter usually fastened with gold or silver buckles,) was considered a proper evening dress for a gentleman of any pretension to fashion. The clergy and many other gentlemen commonly wore black silk stockings, and others contented themselves with grey woollen. The boots had a broad fold of white leather turned over the top, with tassels dangling from either side. The clergy frequently wore silk or stuff gowns, and powdered wigs. The ladies usually wore black silk or satin bonnets, long waisted and narrow skirted dresses for the street, with long tight sleeves; and in the house, sleeves reaching to the elbow, finished with an immensely broad frill; high heeled shoes; and always, when in full dress, carried a profusely ornamented fan. The excessively long waists, toward the close of this period, were exchanged for extremely short ones; so short, that the belt, or waist, was inhumanly contrived to come at the broadest part of the chest. But no fashion of dress was so permanent as other customs clinging to particular eras. Anciently, as now, fashions were changed more or less extensively every few years, though certain broad characteristics remained long enough to give a specific character to the costuming of the eighteenth century.

But not only in dress and social customs do we find a marked difference; the whole style of architecture has changed since then. The large three-story square houses on High, State, Green, and a few other streets, with their commodious carriage ways, and large garden lots, are the most permanent and impressive remains of our commercial prosperity. But these capacious dwellings have no modern successors. They look down upon a new age, and a comparatively diminutive style of building; neat and comfortable enough, but with contracted surroundings, and on a scale which suggests small means, and which is devoid of all imposing architectural effect. But with all the profuseness of expenditure among the wealthier class, we do not find that the laboring people were depressed, or suffered any abridgment of comforts, as is sometimes the case where a single class is found thus eminent in wealth and luxury. All classes participated in the prosperity which the business enterprise of our merchants imparted to the place. All might find employment who would work, and the labor market partook of the general buoyancy. If the humbler classes suffered in any sense from the rapid influx of wealth to the mercantile community, it was in the example of profusion which the latter exhibited, and which the former were thus tempted to imitate; particularly in the free use of liquor, the most insidious and ruinous taste which can be engrafted on society, especially to those of moderate and uncertain incomes. When a change came in the fortunes of the town, it was hard for these to reconcile new facts with old habits; and though there was much to admire in the age we are leaving, perhaps, on the whole, there is not so much to regret. Modern improvements have dispensed with the necessity of many things which went to make up the grandeur of those old times; and the wider diffusion, and greater equalization of wealth, compensate for the pleasing pageantry of the past, while the increased attention to female education is a step forward worth all that is left behind.

With the closing up of our great and profitable foreign commerce, closed the life of an eccentric individual, who has *forced himself* into the annals of the town, and to whom we must therefore give a passing notice. Timothy Dexter has obtained a somewhat unenviable notoriety, but more fortunate than most of his honorable and learned

cotemporaries, has found a biographer and artist * to preserve his memory and liniaments to the posterity which he courted. "Lord Timothy Dexter," whatever were his faults, was a pecuniary benefactor of the town, and also, for a long series of years, held an office in it, viz., "Informer of Deer!" and we have therefore not thought it out of place to introduce him here. He has generally been considered a fool, with a slight mixture of the knave; but nearly every act of his apparent folly may be traced to one overpowering passion, uncontrolled by any natural or cultivated taste, though combined with considerable shrewdness: this passion was vanity; so inordinate, as to lead him into all sorts of absurdities. To be an object of attention to the present, and of remembrance to succeeding generations, in his adopted town, was the central idea of his life, around which all others revolved, and were subordinate. That he succeeded in his aim, is proof of his knowledge of human nature: — where one person expresses an interest in the life and writings of Theophilus Parsons, and men approaching *him* in worth and talents, a hundred make inquiries after his Lordship, "Timothy Dexter." To be sure, the regard of that fraction of society who are discriminate in their admiration, is worth more to a man of mind, than the "incense of a world of fools;" but Mr. Dexter was not very scrupulous as to *whence* the incense rose, if he only had enough of it; and this he attained.

The town office which he held had no duties annexed to it, as no deer were ever known to have been seen in Newburyport, after its incorporation; and the town probably bestowed it on him, merely as a gratification in return for some of his gifts, — a return which cost them nothing. That he was liberal, is amply proved by his donations to the town and other bodies; and if his ruling passion, vanity, had a share in these, that does not entirely derogate from their value, as he certainly might have found less exceptionable modes of displaying it; and the benefit was as great to the recipients, as if there had been no admixture of this feeling in the mind of the giver.

In the oft-repeated story, told generally to exemplify his folly, namely, that of sending a cargo of warming-pans and woollen mittens

* S. L. Knapp.

to the West Indies, which turned out a profitable speculation, — the warming-pans being bought for ladles, to be used on the sugar estates in the straining of syrup, and the mittens sold at a heavy advance to a vessel bound to the Baltic, — we see no evidence of folly, but rather shrewd management, and cunning reticence to cover it; as it cannot possibly be supposed, that with vessels constantly arriving at Newburyport from the West Indies, and with cargoes from the North of Europe, he did not *know* that the one was a warm country and the other cold. No doubt, he knew the use to which his warming-pans were to be applied, before they left the wharf, and as the West Indies were a kind of half-way house, in which vessels from all parts of Europe were in the habit of seeking a market, the mittens were as prudently destined as the other part of his venture.

His building his own tomb in his garden, and undergoing the process of a mock funeral, with the subsequent abuse of his wife, for not weeping during the solemn farce, was an ebullition of vanity, carried out in unique style, certainly, but not very different in its *nature* from cases constantly occurring around us, but which excite no astonishment, from their very frequency. And if Timothy Dexter stood on the highway and scattered silver coins to the boys who would salute him with the title of "Lord," wherein did he differ, except in the mode, from those to be found in every town, who, by well-timed obeisance to the rabble, whom in their hearts they spurn, yield the silver of their honeyed tones to the interests of the "*dear people*" who they believe in their hearts can be *bought* to do them reverence?

As a man of capital, Dexter was always ready to embark in any enterprise that would benefit the town. When it was proposed to build the Essex Merrimac Bridge, he bought over a *hundred* shares. At his own expense, he filled up a large hollow in the road below his mansion, which it was the proper business of the town to keep in repair; calling forth from the travelling public, and the town, their thanks for this service. He offered also to pave the whole of High street, if the town would consent that it should be called by his name — "Dexter street," — cheap enough for so expensive and valuable a work; but his generous offer was not accepted, and High street remains unpaved to this day. A very liberal offer of his, to "construct a brick market house," when the town was without

one, was also rejected, though the only objectionable condition was that it should be called "Dexter Hall."

He presented to the Harris street church \$383.83 to procure a bell, and a similar sum was gratuitously bestowed on St. Paul's church.*

During the distress occasioned by the first embargo, the town acknowledged the receipt of \$2000, given by the will of Mr. Dexter, "for the benefit of such of the poor of the town, as are most necessitous, and who are not in the work-house;" the interest on which, was to be distributed annually by the overseers of the poor.

Timothy Dexter's vices were profanity, a want of veracity, and irreverence, while his execrable taste led him into such vicious displays as were calculated to have an injurious effect, especially upon the young. His mansion, and surrounding estate, — a fine house, and large garden, on High street, — were for many years disfigured with a profusion of painted wooden images, of men and beasts. Three of these remained, for a long time after his death, on the porch of the front door. But these, with all that remained elsewhere, have been since consigned to their proper place — the flames; and the mansion, after having been occupied for some time as a hotel, has fortunately passed into the hands of a gentleman† whose good taste has redeemed it from every objectionable feature left with it by the original proprietor.

In addition to his other devices, Timothy Dexter employed for years a *poet laureate*, whose jingling rhymes,‡ in praise of his

* Impartial Herald.

† E. G. Kelly, Esq.

‡ The following verses will serve as a specimen: —

"Lord Dexter like King Solomon,
Hath Gold and Silver by the ton,
And bells to churches he hath given,
To worship the great King of Heaven."

After describing the mansion, he proceeds:

"Four lions stand to guard the door,
With mouths wide open to devour
All enemies who dare oppose
Lord Dexter or his shady groves.

* * * * *
The images around him stand,
For they were made by his command;
Looking to see Lord Dexter come,
With fixed eyes they see him home."

patron, were quite in keeping with the character he was paid to eulogize.

As a final effort for posthumous fame, Dexter turned *author*, and wrote a small book, entitled "A Pickle for the Knowing Ones," a mass of words, without arrangement of ideas, or any attempt at grammatical construction, or in compliance with any acknowledged mode of orthography; and for the matter of punctuation, he omitted all points through the body of the work, and had several pages of punctuation marks printed separately, and bound with the book, observing "that each reader might put them in where he pleased."

Timothy Dexter was not a native of Newburyport; he was born in Malden, Massachusetts, 1743. He made much of his property by buying up continental notes when they were at a low point of depreciation, and selling when the prospect of redemption had enhanced their value. He died unregretted, (as he had lived without the respect of the community,) October 26, 1806.

PERIOD IV.

SUCCESSIVE DISASTERS, COMMERCIAL RESTRICTIONS, FIRE, WAR.

Affairs between the United States and Great Britain were fast drawing to a crisis, which was by no means retarded by the unprovoked attack of the British ship-of-war *Leopard*, on the American frigate *Chesapeake*, off the coast of Virginia; in which affair some Americans were killed. A committee of correspondence, in Norfolk, addressed a letter to the selectmen of this town on the subject; and a spirited meeting was held, at which the following, and other similar resolutions, were passed unanimously :

“Resolved, That we consider the attack made upon the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, by the British ship-of-war *Leopard*, a violation of our national rights, and an insult on our national dignity, no less humiliating than unwarrantable.

“Resolved, That the conduct of our brethren at Norfolk, before orders from Government could be obtained,* was truly spirited and patriotic, and that the selectmen be requested to return a respectful answer to their communication, with a copy of the proceedings of this meeting.”

Since 1793, American shipping had been exposed to the cross fires of French and English guns; it was now to be scuttled by friendly hands, by way of preserving it from the enemy. President Jefferson, having found that the Embargo Act of 1807 was success-

* The people of Norfolk had agreed to enforce the suspension of all intercourse between the British squadron, then lying off the coast, forbidding any one to furnish them with provisions or water; and had established a committee of correspondence, to inform all the seaport towns of these proceedings.

fully evaded under various feints, put forth additional acts, first restricting, and then forbidding the coasting trade. This latter excited the deadliest hostility of the great majority of the New England people, and the frequent supplements to the act served to keep them in a constant state of irritation. About the 4th of July, 1808, the following effusion appeared in the Newburyport Herald, which shows that whatever kind of produce *was* embargoed, *poetry* was not.

"Our ships all in motion, once whitened the ocean ;
They sailed and returned with a cargo :
Now doomed to decay, they have fallen a prey
To Jefferson — worms — and embargo.

What a fuss we have made about rights and free trade,
And vow'd that we'd not let our share go ;
Now we can't for our souls, bring a hake from the Shoals,
'Tis a breach of the *twentieth* embargo !"

Some captains during the first embargo, after procuring a clearance for some domestic port, on getting out to sea, concealed the names of their vessels, and run for the West Indies ; several of them were "driven by stress of weather into Nassau," where, says a cotemporary, "the carpenters were so expert and generous, that they repaired them in an extraordinary short space of time, and at scarcely no expense!!" Other vessels had been reported to the officers of the Customs as having on board more than was entered on their manifest. One suspected, was chased out of the Merrimac by the revenue officers, accompanied by some twenty volunteers, and on examination was found to contain a large quantity of pork, flour, butter, lard and tobacco, which the books of the Custom House knew nothing of. It was on account of these numerous evasions, that the coasting trade, which successfully covered them, was laid under interdict.

But when a law is felt to be in direct contravention of the rights and prosperity of a people, and also that it is not productive of the result it professes to aim at, human nature rebels at its enforcement, and but faintly, if at all condemns its infraction ; smuggling, therefore, became an illegality which no one was ashamed to confess having participated in, after the danger was over.

One of the worst social effects of these restrictions on commerce

was the driving of American seamen into foreign ships; there was at one time, two hundred* American seamen at St. Andrews, N. B., seeking employment. The utter stagnation of business is told, in the difference between the value of exports from Massachusetts in 1806 and in 1813. In the former year it was \$21,199,243, in the latter \$1,807,923, a diminution of *twenty* millions of dollars! † A reference to the table of the "Inspection of mackerel" will show its effect on the fisheries. Under these circumstances, it is not strange that Newburyport, whose interest was so deeply involved, should address the President (May, 1808) with representations of the ruin which was hanging over the town, asking for some alleviating measures to be adopted; seizing upon the favorable aspect which affairs in Spain and Portugal had taken, to urge the safety and profit of permitting a trade with those nations, and their colonies; and that the answer of the President, declaring it "not prudent to change the measures adopted," should lead some to conceive a violent prejudice against his entire administration.

On the first anniversary of the passage of the Embargo Act, the day was observed in Newburyport by the tolling of bells and the firing of minute-guns, that signal of extreme distress; the flags hung at half mast, and a procession of sailors was formed, who marched under muffled drums with crape on their arms, accompanied by a dismantled ship, on a cart body drawn by horses, and bearing a flag on which was inscribed "Death to Commerce." A young man, attired like an old sailor, stood on the quarter deck with a glass in his hand, as if about to take an observation; while a painted motto was exhibited, inquiring "Which way shall I steer?" the "old sailor" occasionally throwing the lead, as if to take soundings. When the cortège arrived opposite the old custom house, an address was made by this individual, reflecting rather severely on the cause which occasioned the procession.

Having found the remonstrance to the President unavailing, the

* Herald, 1808.

† A merchant here, having more time than business on his hands, made the following calculation of the loss to New England, while the shipping was thus laid up. "The total tonnage being 450,000, the loss by embargo is \$10,800,000 annually; each day it is \$29,529, and each hour \$1,232.

town (January 12, 1809,) next addressed the State Legislature to interpose what means they constitutionally could, to guard the people of the commonwealth from what they deemed unjustifiable, absurd, unnecessary and ruinous restrictions.*

What increased the dissatisfaction of the people of New England generally, with the course of the administration, was the fact that though the French had offered as great provocations, and committed as many violations on our flag, (except in the matter of impressment,) as the British, yet the latter were the principal objects of retaliation in the policy of the President; and here appeared conspicuously, the character impressed upon the two political parties at the epoch of their formation, which has been elucidated in the remarks on the course of citizen Genet in this country.

One effect of the long-continued embargo, was the contrivance of devices for effecting sales of produce and other goods, without ostensibly violating the act. Vessels in the coasting trade no sooner got to sea, no matter to what port in the United States they were bound, than they met with "head winds," "continued and violent gales," "sprung a mast," or "started a butt," and were obliged to put into some of the West India Islands, "in great distress, and very much to the prejudice of their owners" — of course!! A few were able to make Passamaquoddy, "while many more," says a cotemporary writer "passed-by-quoddy, and got safe to Halifax, or Bermuda." Indeed, throughout the war, more or less successful efforts were made to send provisions to the north-eastern frontier for sale in the provinces.

During this period, the farmers suffered nearly as much as the merchants; their surplus crops were wasted for want of a market, and deep and general distress prevailed. The following scale of prices, will show the depression of the agricultural interest after the passage of the act which went into effect in 1808:

	1807.	1808.
Corn,	\$1.00	\$.66
Wheat,	1.75	1.00
Rye,	1.35	.75

* To the acceptance of this address there were but ten dissentient voices in a full town meeting.—See *Town Records*.

	1807.	1808.
Hay,	\$15.00 a 18.00	\$7.00
Butter,	.20 a .22	.08 a .10
Cheese,	.06 a .14	.08 a .07
Wood,	4.66 a 5.50	3.50
Boards,	10.50 a 12.00	6.00 a 7.50

A considerable business had been carried on in this town, in the distillation of whiskey; but now there were no means of exporting the whiskey, and consequently the distiller would not buy the farmer's rye. Another valuable article of export was salt pork; but the farmer's stock of swine had become valueless, unless to eat the rye which the distiller did not want!

In the spring of 1809, President Madison signed a bill, passed by Congress, so far mitigating the burdens on commerce as to admit of foreign vessels, belonging to nations with whom the United States were at amity, loading in our ports. But this relief was of short duration. In the fall the embargo was repealed, but a substitute, entitled the Non Intercourse Act,* was passed, which prohibited all trade with Great Britain and France, the countries with which a profitable commerce might, notwithstanding all the obstructions in the way, have been indirectly secured. The Non Intercourse Act led to negotiations on the part of Great Britain, which resulted in the release of such of the men impressed as could be fully proved to be native Americans. And in 1810, France repealed her continental decrees, and the restrictions upon our intercourse with that nation were removed. A treaty had also been made with an agent of the British government, by which the Orders in Council were repealed; but this act of their minister was repudiated by the

* While the Non Intercourse Act was in force, many evasions were attempted, which led, in some instances, to ludicrous scenes between the revenue officers and real or pretended smugglers. One suspected craft being boarded, the captain, after considerable parley, confessed to the officer that he had a few "dry goods" packed away, under an ostensible cargo of potatoes. The officer immediately set his gang to work hauling them out, working zealously himself in the cause, expecting to make a grand seizure of English calico. After working several hours, they came to a small box of *dried herrings*; the only *dry goods* to be seen; the chagrin of the officer may be better imagined than described.

British Government. By a Report of the Secretary of State, it was found that between October 1, 1807, and March 31, 1809, four hundred and sixty-two men had been taken out of American vessels and impressed by the British. Of this number, however, but two hundred and thirty-five exhibited proofs of American citizenship, though no doubt many others were fully entitled to our protection; of the whole number taken, two hundred and eighty-seven were, in March, 1810, ordered to be discharged. And in return for this late act of justice, intercourse was again restored with Great Britain.

The impetus which was given to the shipping interest in Newburyport by this change in public affairs, is sufficiently indicated by the number of vessels built here in 1810, viz.: twenty-one ships, thirteen brigs, and one schooner, a total of 12,000 tons, all but seven being owned in this district. Had peace continued, the prosperity of Newburyport would apparently have been placed upon such a basis, as that the memorable disaster of the succeeding year would have had but a temporary effect in depressing her renewed elasticity. Yet the perils of her merchants and seamen in this brief interval of restored intercourse with the two most prominent of their oppressors, were by no means completely removed.

Not only was Denmark made the complete tool of France, but American vessels, having passed the form of trial in their courts, and, as we have seen in the case of Captain Brown, of the ship *Washington*, paid their own costs, were still liable to be seized by French privateers, who were perpetually watching on the coast for such prey. Captain H. Parsons, of the schooner *Dolly*, of Newburyport, writes to his owners in this town, from Tonnigen, November, 1810: "The Danes have ordered the clearance of American vessels, but have no power to protect them if the French bring them back. I am in a very critical situation, in jeopardy of French privateers if I go out, and may be taken by the authorities if I remain at anchor."

The next year matters grew worse in that direction. Captain Wheelwright, of Newburyport, whose vessel was condemned in 1811, was but one of one hundred and thirteen American shipmasters carried into Kiel, Norway, and Denmark. The expense of clearing many of these vessels was enormous; the brig *Hannah*, Captain Dennis, of Newburyport, was taken into a port of Norway,

and her expenses, including lawyers' fees and some well-directed gifts to secure a favorable judgment, amounted to 20,000 rix dollars.*

But these were partial losses, felt directly only by the persons immediately concerned in the property seized; a more extensive and disastrous calamity was in store for those citizens whose property and interests were all on land. During the spring of 1811, several inconsiderable fires had excited the alarm and increased the watchfulness of the citizens; yet despite all their efforts to detect the incendiary, a fire was again announced on the evening of the 31st of May, which soon progressed to such an extent as to be totally beyond the control of the firemen, assisted as they were by the entire body of the citizens, and many of the inhabitants from neighboring towns. Even many women, during the progress of the fire, were seen standing in the ranks, passing buckets of water; while many others as opportunely and usefully occupied themselves with bringing refreshments to the exhausted men. From a pamphlet† issued a short time after the fire, we draw, substantially, the account of the origin and progress of the flames.

The fire broke out about half past nine o'clock in the evening, an hour when a large proportion of the inhabitants had already retired for the night. And as the ominous cry of "*Fire!*" resounded through the streets, it broke upon the stillness of the evening air, and renewed the alarms which had become frequent, from incipient fires discovered and timely extinguished, during the last few weeks; and the belief gained ground that a determined effort was making, from some unknown enemy, to fire the town. The spot selected by the incendiary was that which had several times before been fired, probably by the same reckless hands; this was an old stable, unoccupied at the time, situated on Inn street, then called Mechanics' row.

When discovered, the building was already enveloped in flames, and the frame being light and dry, it was irretrievably devoted to destruction, the fire spreading on either side, but principally towards Market square and State street; consuming, in a few hours, every

* Herald.

† By W. & J. Gilman. Second Edition, Revised.

building between Pleasant street and the alley leading to Inn street, and both sides of State street; and from this point to the Market, baffling successfully the desperate efforts of the firemen and assisting citizens. On Essex street, the destruction extended only to the house of Captain James Kettle; but in Middle street, gathering fresh strength, the devouring element marched with giant strides the whole length of the street to Fair, on the north-east side, and to within a few rods of it, on the upper. On Liberty street, it reached to within one house of Independent street, and on Water street extended to Cushing's wharf, sweeping off every building within this circle, the whole of Centre street being laid in ashes; including a range of buildings on Ferry wharf, and a row of stores between Wood's wharf and the Market, the wharf itself being burned; thus clearing a tract of *sixteen and a half acres*, in the most compactly built and densely populated part of the town, and containing a large proportion of the most valuable property in it. Nearly two hundred and fifty buildings were thus totally and suddenly consumed, including almost every dry goods store, four printing offices, the Custom House,* surveyors' office, post office, two insurance offices, the "Union" and the "Phoenix," the Baptist meeting-house, four attorneys' offices, four book stores, (the loss of one of these was \$30,000,) and also the *Town Library*.

Blunt's building, a massive structure four stories high, and the Phoenix building, for awhile seemed to present an effectual barrier to the farther progress of the flames; but by a sudden change of the wind they were carried directly upon these immense piles, which were soon involved in the general calamity.

"State street at this time presented a spectacle most terribly sublime! The wind, soon after it changed, blew with increased violence, and these buildings, which were much the highest in the street, threw the fire in awful columns high into the air, the flames extending in one continued sheet of fire across the spacious area!"

* An irretrievable loss was that of the Custom House Records up to the date of the fire.

By this fire, George Peabody, Esq., (the well known banker in London,) then a clerk in his brother's store in this town, was thrown out of employment, and the next year removed from the place. He is nephew to General John Peabody, formerly a well known merchant of Newburyport.

The large brick meeting-house in Liberty street, belonging to the Baptist Society, in which many had deposited their shop goods, furniture, and other property, as a place of safety, was reached by the flames, and with its now valuable contents, utterly consumed. At two o'clock in the morning of June 1st, the fire seemed to rage with new and irresistible fury, and it was feared, at this time, that the whole town would be laid in ashes. Everything was done to stay the progress of the flames, which intelligent and persevering efforts could devise, but with very limited success. But about four o'clock, the intensity of the fire abated, and by six, the immediate danger of its further extension was over.

The scene has been represented as terrifically sublime. Gathering clouds of smoke obscured the bright clear moon, which shone out upon the origin of the fire, as if willing to lend its aid to expose the concealed perpetrators. The air, at first darkened with heavy volumes of smoke, was ere long reddened with the lurid glare of the flames, now rising from a hundred buildings: while the physical destruction going on, was a tame and indifferent sight, compared with the pathos of the scene, as family after family were driven with their little ones into the streets, shelterless and homeless. The rapidity with which the flames spread, and the shifting of the wind, which brought the flames in hot haste upon many buildings which had been considered safe from their approach, greatly enhanced the perplexity of the flying inhabitants, who were thus prevented from removing the property they had deemed out of the reach of danger.

Such a mass of burning material had the apparent effect of changing the season of the year; persons, unless under the pressure of excitement, such as the scene naturally produced, could hardly have borne to walk the streets where the fire was raging; the air was like that of a furnace, and the light like the glare of the summer's sun. All nature seemed to sympathize with the scene. The birds, attracted by the light, and suffocated by the heat and smoke, dropped powerless into the burning ruins; the terrified and bewildered cattle made night hideous by their unearthly looings, while the sudden crash of falling timbers, and the roaring sound of a hundred chimneys, was likened only to the subterranean commotions which precede volcanic eruptions, while the flying fire, borne about in showers by the wind, helped to sustain the idea.

The loss was estimated at about a *million of dollars*; the greatest misfortune being, that the calamity came at a period when our citizens could do but little to re-create that of which they had been so suddenly and unexpectedly deprived.

Over ninety families were on the first of June houseless, many of them reduced at once, by this calamity, from affluence to poverty. The light of the fire was seen at an immense distance,* and in addition to the more immediate assistance received from Salisbury and Amesbury, numbers from Rowley, Ipswich, Danvers, Beverly, Haverhill, Topsfield, Bradford, and even Salem, were shortly on the spot, with the laudable intention of rendering aid, and relieving our citizens; a guard of gentlemen from the latter town kept a watch over the scattered property of the inhabitants during the night of the 1st of June. Measures were immediately taken by the selectmen, assisted by a committee of the most able citizens, to devise means of relief for such as were in immediate want. A depot was at once established in a building of Captain William Russell's, that had fortunately escaped the flames, on Market square, where provisions and other donations were received, and disbursed to the destitute.

But no sooner was the news of the calamity disseminated abroad, than the most prompt and liberal contributions were made in the neighboring towns and cities, and some more distant parts of the country. Boston headed the list with the munificent gift of \$24,315.25; Salem followed with \$10,000, besides contributions of clothing; Charlestown gave \$1,744.55,† while many smaller places gave as largely in proportion to their means. Among the contributors, were the towns of Hingham, Waltham, Marlborough, Brighton, Attleborough (the latter to assist in rebuilding the Baptist church), and Medford. Dr. Spring, then pastor of the North church, made a tour to the South, travelling as far as Virginia, for the purpose of soliciting funds. Philadelphia responded nobly, appointing twenty committees to canvass the city, and solicit subscriptions, which resulted in raising for the sufferers here \$13,000. Part of this was also appropriated to the express purpose of rebuilding

* It was distinctly seen at Amherst, N. H., and at Attleborough, Mass., thirty miles beyond Boston.

† Of this, \$150 was from the firemen there, to their brethren here.

the Baptist church; the Rev. Mr. Peak, the pastor, having also visited the city, and successfully urged the necessities of that society. A Moravian Society in Pennsylvania added sixty dollars to the funds forwarded from that State.

One of the most pleasant and useful contributions was made by the Shaker communities of Enfield and Canterbury, N. H., which consisted of five wagon loads of furniture, bedding, clothing and food, well selected, and possessing, therefore, more than their intrinsic value to the persons whose daily and hourly wants were thus opportunely supplied. On their way to Newburyport, the person having these goods in charge, was solicited to sell some articles; the reply was characteristic, and prevented a repetition of the request: "These goods are not for sale, friend, but if *thou art a sufferer*, take freely what thou needest."

Nor should the liberality of our own citizens to their more unfortunate neighbors remain unrecorded. Mr. William Bartlett gave three thousand dollars, and Mr. Moses Brown fifteen hundred dollars, while others of less fortune contributed as their means permitted.

Subsequently Newburyport had an opportunity of repaying, in part, this debt of humanity, to other sufferers by fire. What they could, they rendered to Portsmouth in 1813, when a fire of almost equal extent as that which made a ruin of Newburyport, desolated that pleasant town. This fire occurred on the 22d of December, and the Portsmouth Annalist says: "Many citizens of Newburyport and other towns hastened to our assistance; Newburyport detached eighty or ninety men, who guarded the town the succeeding night. A gentleman from Newburyport, in search of objects of distress, entered a house involved in flames, and at great hazard of his own life, rescued a child whom he heard crying for its mother, and brought it to a place of safety." In 1815, (July 28,) on the occasion of a destructive fire in Petersburg, Va., nearly seven hundred dollars were collected here, and forwarded for the sufferers. In October, 1823, between five and six hundred dollars were collected in town, for the sufferers by fire in Wiscasset, and Aina, Maine. In 1830, over three hundred dollars were contributed by seven of the churches, for the town of Gloucester; and in 1831, nearly two hundred dollars were given by three of the churches to Fayetteville. In 1835, about three hundred and fifty dollars were made up for

Charlestown; and to Fall River, in 1843, Newburyport gave in money, clothing, &c., nearly one thousand dollars; and to Nantucket, in August, 1846, over eleven hundred dollars, and six boxes of clothing. But it was not within the ability of Newburyport to give as largely as she had received, or as she would have done, had not this untimely blight fallen upon her fortunes.

An unfortunate but perhaps necessary rule, was observed in the distribution of the money thus generously contributed by the country and our own citizens. No person received any appropriation who had property remaining of the value of five thousand dollars. This looked reasonable, and was perhaps as satisfactory a rule of procedure as could be adopted at the time. Yet looking back from our present stand-point, with all the results of that disastrous year before us, we cannot doubt that had the whole amount of money thus collected, been loaned to some half dozen of the most enterprising business men, possessing five thousand dollars or upwards, and by thus adding to their capital, encouraging them to renew business and inspiring them with the hope of eventually making good their losses, it would have been better for the town, and better for the poorer class who received it, by enabling these capitalists to give them profitable and permanent employment long after the pittance supplied them was exhausted; instead, as the event proved, creating a class who just managed to live on the remnant of the property they had saved, but with no surplus which they dared risk in the most inviting speculations.

To this class is Newburyport principally indebted for that blight which appeared to settle on every subsequent effort to retrieve her misfortunes. These fell into the habit of condemning or discouraging every plan that involved any outlay of capital, or in which were any elements of risk, and thus exerted a depressing influence on the more ambitious and enterprising. The class was by no means small; and those acquainted with the history of the town for the twenty years subsequent to the "great fire," will acknowledge the truth of this picture. Newburyport has been from that time, almost without cessation, the prolific *exporter* of young men. How else do we account for the great number of Newburyport youth annually exiled, and scattered over the Union in eligible and profitable situations, — from Boston to New Orleans, and from New York

to the Mississippi? True, the restrictions upon commerce, and the war which followed, had their share in producing this effect; but other towns, similarly situated, recovered in a few years the business then lost. And somewhat later, the increased obstructions upon the river bar, with the larger class of vessels demanded by the freighting trade, were obstacles serious and potent; but either or all of these combined, would not so permanently and thoroughly have depressed the community, had a majority of them retained the spirit of enterprise which they once possessed.

The selectmen offered a reward of one thousand dollars for the discovery of the incendiary who had set the fire on the 31st of May, and the town appointed a committee, for the express purpose of ferreting out the miscreant, but both failed, and the perpetrator remained undiscovered. A lad was arrested in July, who confessed to setting two or three barns on fire, but persisted in denying all knowledge of the origin of the "great fire."

In the mean time, the affair of the Little Belt and its fatal encounter with the United States frigate *President*, prepared the minds of at least the southern section of the Union, for war; and it was immediately seized upon by the British as an excuse for new captures. The brig *Hannah*, Captain Dennis of Newburyport, from Christian-sand, for Russia, was seized by the British sloop-of-war *Fawn*, and sent into Yarmouth, England, and the "*Alert*," of Newburyport, Captain William Nichols, from Bordeaux, was boarded by the British man-of-war, *Semiramis*, soon after leaving port; several hands were put in her, and she was ordered to Plymouth. But Captain Nichols was not disposed to submit without an effort to save his vessel; when off Ushant, he with his men rose on the British seamen, and regained possession of the brig; they battened down four of the men, and sent the rest adrift in the jolly boat. But unluckily the "*Alert*" was soon after fallen in with by the British man-of-war, *Vestal*, Captain Berkley, and though Captain Nichols assured the English commander "that he had been boarded by the *Semiramis*," Captain Berkley's suspicions were excited that all was not right, and he determined to carry them into Portsmouth. Captain Nichols, finding that there was no escape, acknowledged the whole story, and the men in the hold were set at liberty.

These are but single specimens out of large numbers of similar occurrences. These continued depredations and insults called forth another embargo act of ninety days' duration, and finally a declaration of war against Great Britain; a declaration which the town of Newburyport, in common with the major part of New England, vehemently opposed, and to sustain which they perseveringly refused to do one particle more than their constitutional obligations imposed; forming in this a strong contrast to their conduct in the Revolutionary war, when the extremity of ability was the only limit to their exertions. The ground of opposition to the war was principally this: that they believed the wrongs complained of might have been redressed by other means, and also, that equal-handed justice required, that if an appeal in defence of our commercial rights was made to arms, that these should be directed against France as well as England. From the former, we had endured, and were still submitting to, the grossest violations of the laws of nations. Napoleon, in addition to his Berlin and Milan decrees, had lately issued orders authorizing French armed vessels to *burn or sink any vessels pretending to be NEUTRAL*,* laden with any of the produce of England or her colonies, if they could not otherwise be brought in. In consequence of this decree, a large number of American vessels were destroyed or detained in the northern ports of Europe. At one time eighteen vessels were forty days at Elsinour, not daring to leave, as the authorities in Denmark could insure them no protection at any distance over four miles from the coast. France being an ally of Denmark was the excuse offered to our minister, Mr. Erving, when he remonstrated. Thus, with equal aggravations on the part of France, which were permitted to pass with present impunity, our people felt that there was no greater need for war with Great Britain, but that if negotiations were ample means of remedy in the one case, they might be in the other; and when, too, the disparity of our naval force, as compared with that of England, was considered, it is not surprising that even the heroes of the Revolution should have some fears of the result of a contest with Great Britain on what was then her own element, as the coming conflict they saw must be.

Great Britain, at the moment when Madison declared war against

* Alison's Europe.

her, had a naval establishment of 254 ships of the line, 247 frigates, 183 brigs, besides cutters, armed yachts, and fire-ships, making a total of 1,042 vessels; * while the United States could boast of but 10 frigates, 10 sloops, and 165 gun-boats, small affairs at best.

A public fast was proclaimed in Massachusetts by the Governor, and the inhabitants of Newburyport appointed a committee, consisting of Messrs. Jeremiah Nelson, John Pierpont, † Joseph Dana, William Bartlett, and William Farris, to prepare an address to the Legislature. In this address, which was adopted at a full town meeting, they say, after expressing their opinion of the impolicy of the war, "We wish, therefore, firmly and decidedly to express to your Excellency and Council, that, under your command, we are ready to march for the purposes expressed in the Constitution, namely, 'to suppress insurrection, to repel invasion, and to enforce the laws;' *and we will march under no other.* * * * Some of us were born — and we have all lived — freemen. Our soil we will defend, but without the command of our lawful captain, [the Governor, as commander-in-chief of the militia,] conscripts or not conscripts, *we will never stir an inch.*"

This was in anticipation of the requisitions to be made on the town to form the army proposed by the President. It was the general resolution of the people not to go out of Massachusetts to fight in this war. The address continues: "Should a tide from the south and west [referring to the war spirit in those sections] overwhelm us to sweep us away, it must rise higher than our mountains. Should civil commotion arise to destroy us, it must tear us from the bottom of our valleys; for rather than that our blood should mingle with the St. Lawrence, or cement the walls of Quebec, every valley shall be the pass of Thermopylæ, and every height a Bunker Hill."

At a town meeting the ensuing February, a memorial was adopted, addressed to the Legislature, in which the memorialists say: "We are called, in common with our fellow-citizens of the Eastern States, to consider whether the Republic still exists, or whether in the government under whose oppression we now suffer, we have any rights, privileges, and interests, worth a struggle to maintain.

* Steel's List for July, 1811.

† Reverend John Pierpont, of Boston, then a resident of Newburyport.

Thousands of our hardy and intrepid mariners have been compelled to quit their country and seek employment in foreign nations. The debt already incurred exceeds the whole debt of the United States at the close of the Revolutionary war. The late act interdicting commerce between citizens of the same State, thereby depriving the people of necessary supplies, violates the Constitution, vests despotic power in the President, and raises up petty despots in every seaport. It imposes wanton restraints which are calculated to irritate to resistance, or to make slaves of us all.

"We therefore pray your Honorable Body to devise constitutional means to *restore our right of intercourse by water*; and we, the people of Newburyport, solemnly pledge ourselves to your Honorable Body and our fellow-citizens, to support with our lives and fortunes such measures as shall be adopted by you for the redress of our grievances, and in defence of our rights, and to be prepared at a moment's warning to obey the call of duty and our country."

With these sentiments, we are not surprised to find that the town subsequently refused to pay the soldiers drafted for the war any additional bounty to induce their voluntary enlistment. Many of the Federalists were even opposed to the fitting out of privateers, the only way in which the town might reasonably hope to turn the war to profit. But all were not of this opinion, and the summer of 1812 saw quite a fleet of vessels cleared from Newburyport, "bound on a cruise."

One of the most successful of these privateers was the brig Decatur, Captain William Nichols, formerly master of the Alert, taken by the Vestal and carried into Portsmouth. On the 25th of July he took the brig "Elizabeth," and also captured the British barque, "Duke of Savoy," which he brought to Newburyport. Starting on a new cruise the 4th of August, he took, on the 23d, the brig "Thomas," in ballast, two guns and thirty men; on the 26th, the "Devonshire," laden with fish and oil; on the same day, the "Concord," on board which he put twenty prisoners, and ordered her to Halifax, as a cartel; on the 30th, took the brig "Hope," in ballast—took out the men and burnt her; same day, took the "William and Charlotte," with five hundred tons of oak timber, on account of British government. She was armed, mounting four six-pounders; ordered her to Newburyport. September 1st, fell in with

the *St. Thomas*, of a homeward bound fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of an eighteen-gun brig; captured the ship "*Diana*, mounting ten nine and twelve-pounders, and having a cargo of rum, sugar, and coffee; ordered her to Newburyport. Same day took the brig "*Fame*,"* with a cargo of rum and sugar; ordered her to Newburyport. September 6th, fell in with ship *Commerce*, — Watts, master, from Demarara to Glasgow; cargo, rum, sugar, cotton, and coffee, carrying fourteen nine and six-pounders, and armed with small arms. Commenced an action which continued about twenty-five minutes, when she struck, with the loss of her captain and three men killed and two wounded; her masts, rigging, and hull much injured; ordered her to Newburyport.

In the course of this cruise, the *Decatur* had been to within a few leagues of the English channel, had been absent but two months, and brought home fifty-four prisoners, among them two masters and two mates, who were admitted to parole: the men were imprisoned, for safe keeping, but every indulgence compatible with their safety was granted them, by order of the collector of the port.

In a subsequent cruise, the *Decatur* took the ship *Neptune*, Capt. Oldham, of and from London, bound to Rio, with brandy, wine, watch-cases, jewelry and dry goods, and sent her into Portland, to which place, a pilot from this port went to bring her in.

We have heard the extraordinary success of Captain Nichols ascribed to a peculiar and original mode of naval tactics which he adopted; the first rule of which was, when engaged with a ship, to order some trusty men, good marksmen, to "*keep the helm of the enemy clear*." The helmsmen thus being successively picked off, the men became afraid to take up the fated position, and the vessels thus becoming unmanageable, more readily fell a prey to their shrewd and brave antagonist.

The *Decatur* was finally captured by the British frigate *Surprise*, of thirty-eight guns; a new vessel, Sir Thomas Cochrane commander, the *Decatur* being her first prize. She fired during the action, forty small arms, and seventeen eighteen-pound shot, killing one man and wounding several; Mr. J. Foot, of this town, having a leg shot away.

*This and the ship *Diana* were retaken by the British after the *Decatur* left them.

Captain Nichols had just before his capture taken three prizes, two of which he sent to France to be sold, and one home.

The Decatur was carried into Barbadoes, January, 1813, where there was already a large number of American prisoners. Here Captain Nichols was admitted to parole, until the "Vestal" arrived at Bermuda, when he was recognized by her commander as the recaptor of the "Alert," and through Captain Berkley's influence, he was arrested and placed in close custody, on board a prison-ship, where, to the eternal infamy of Berkley, he was confined in a pen or cage, built on the quarter-deck, but seven feet long, and five wide, for the space of thirty-four days, without being allowed communication with any one, except his guard. On the 23d of April, he was, without previous notice, removed to the Tribune Frigate, which soon after sailed to the leeward islands, to join a convoy for England, where he was detained a prisoner some months, when he was exchanged, and came to Boston in the ship "Saratoga" in September.

The only reason assigned for the unusual and cruel treatment of Captain Nichols, was one which was most honorable to him—his having retaken the Alert, and his subsequent activity during the war. (He took in all twenty-eight prizes). Nothing daunted by the fortune of war which had made him for so many months an exile and a prisoner, Captain Nichols sailed in another privateer, called the Harpy, which also did good service. After a cruise of twenty-one days, she arrived at Portsmouth, laden with bale goods, which she had taken out of a ship belonging to a convoy dispersed on the Banks, which ship she manned out. On this cruise, she also took three others, two transport ships, one of them carrying twenty guns, the other unarmed, laden with brandy, flour, bread and dry goods, took her cargo, and manned her out; the other was a schooner in ballast, Captain Bass, late of the "Liverpool-Packet" which was burnt. The Harpy brought in sixty-five prisoners, among whom was a major general, and other officers. She was twice chased by British frigates, but outsailed them. Her prize cargo was estimated to be worth \$300,000. If success is any evidence of skill or bravery, Captain Nichols could have had few equals among the privateer commanders of that or any other period.

Privateering not being so universally approved in this, as in the Revolutionary war, there was not the same freedom of narration in

the public prints, of the success of privateers; some left this port under other professions, but we have the names of several which were fitted out here with the avowed purpose of taking whatever they could find. The schooner *Yankee*, Captain Stanwood, sailed in the summer of 1812, and on her second cruise, with Captain Pillsbury, was captured in October, and sent into Barbadoes, where the crew were confined on board of a prison-ship, exceedingly crowded and uncomfortable, but, as appears by a letter, written by one of the prisoners, dated March 10th, they were not stinted in food, as were those in some other prisons—their allowance being for twenty-four hours, “half a pound of good bread, half a pound of salt beef or pork, one pound of sweet potatoes, and as much water as they could drink.” There was in all nearly six hundred American prisoners at Barbadoes. Some of them, feeling themselves neglected by the United States Government, shipped on board British vessels, hoping thus to get an opportunity of returning home. The crews of the *Decatur* and *Yankee* were returned in the cartel ship *Providence*, July 30th, 1813.

The *Manhattan* was the first privateer fitted out in Newburyport; she sailed in the summer of 1812; she took no prizes. The first letter-of-marque was the *Argus*, Captain Harry Parsons; she sailed in March, 1813; she took three prizes, the first by stratagem. It being night, Captain Parsons hailed a vessel, which proved to be the *London-Packet*, and informed her master, that they had fallen in with the *United States* ship *Argus*, and ordered the English flag to be struck; the order was immediately complied with, and the prize secured. The next prize was the brig *Atlantic*, which they manned out, but which they lost, she being retaken. The prisoners from this and the third prize were brought into Boston. The letter-of-marque, *Antelope*, which sailed in December, 1814, made no prizes; she was sold into the merchant service, and was cast away on Tuckanuck beach. The prizes taken, with the exception of those brought in by Captain William Nichols, were few, and not of great value, and the accounts have not been accurately preserved; even the Custom House records of this period are missing; but all the losses were faithfully chronicled in the “*Herald*,” the publisher of which was opposed to the war.

The following are some of the captures made of vessels belonging

to this port, or commanded by Newburyport men. The ship *Moriarty*, Captain Stickney, and the brig *Jordan*; the sloop *Fame*, Captain Eaton, having a cargo of fish, was taken off the coast of Labrador; the schooner *James* was captured, her cables and anchors taken out, and then released; the ship *Belleville*, Captain Goodwin, and the brig *Eos*, Captain Samuel Nichols, were detained in England; the ship *Abigail*, Captain Johnson, was taken and carried into Halifax in November; the ship *Essex* was taken and sent into Gibraltar about the 1st of January, 1813; the privateer *Bunker Hill*, Captain Boddily, was taken, but escaped with the aid of the privateer *Retaliation*. In May of this year, the cartel ship *Robinson*, Captain Potter, brought home Captains John Wells of the brig *Leader* (or *Leander*,) Goodwin of the ship *Belleville*, Samuel Nichols and John H. Titcomb of the brig *Eos*, Thomas Buntin of the brig *America*, and several others belonging to Newburyport. The schooner *Two Brothers*, Captain Lovett, was captured, but released after a detention of a few hours.

In 1814, the *Tenedos*, a British man-of-war, captured a boat belonging to Captain John Pearson, with her cargo, and turned her into a tender, but afterwards gave her up. Mr. Richard P. Coffin was taken by a barge from the British ship *Leander*, and detained four hours and then released; the lieutenant of the *Leander* telling him that it was not the intention of the British to molest this part of the coast. In June of this year, Captain Lufkin, of the schooner *Ann* and *Elizabeth*, was returned from Bermuda, whither he had been carried the December previous. A pilot boat of Captain John Somerby's was taken and made a tender to the British frigate *Nymph*. Other captures of more or less value were made, and two natives of Newburyport, prisoners of war, confined in Dartmouth Prison, died there, as is shown by an official list of "deaths in the prison from 1813-15;" their names were Joseph Luckey and Joseph Perkins.

In September of 1813, was launched from Merrill's ship-yard, in this town, the United States sloop-of-war *Wasp*,* named probably

* In several naval histories which we have examined, the "*Wasp*" is represented as belonging to Portsmouth. Willard's History of the United States

in honor of the United States sloop of that name, whose gallant action with the "Frolic" had made her a favorite with the supporters of the war, and which was captured immediately after that engagement by the seventy-four gun ship the *Poictiers*.

The builder of the "Wasp," Mr. Orlando Merrill, still lives in this city, and is the same who built the United States ship *Pickering*, in 1789. The eighty-second anniversary of Washington's birthday, February, 1814, was celebrated by a ball on board the *Wasp*, then lying in the *Merrimac*, shortly before she sailed on her first cruise. During the short time she was in service she was remarkably successful; and what makes her actions particularly interesting, is the fact that her crew, when they sailed from this port, were almost to a man "green hands," and their average age was but twenty-three years. That they were not very experienced seamen is clear, from the fact that nearly the whole crew were seasick for the first week out. Yet in three months and five days she captured and destroyed twelve British merchant vessels and their cargoes; the thirteenth was sent into port. In addition to these exploits, her memorable actions with the *Reindeer* and *Avon* attest to the valor of her crew. Up to the close of the latter engagement she met with no considerable loss; her bows, of solid oak, like the timbers of the old *Constitution*, proved impenetrable to the shot of the *Reindeer*. The fate of the *Wasp* was for some time involved in mystery, but it finally became certain that she went down at sea, after a severe engagement with a British frigate, during the night on or about the first of September, 1814. On that day she encountered a convoy of ten sail, in charge of the "Armada," a seventy-four gun ship, and in the evening discovered four vessels on her bows, two on each side, and successively encountered two of them. The first struck after a severe engagement, but the second came up and prevented the *Wasp* getting possession of her prize. A few days after, a British frigate had an encounter with an American vessel, the name of which they could not tell, but which must have

also leaves the same erroneous impression. An English paper, printed in 1814, in recording the action with the *Avon*, makes the same mistake; which may have arisen from the fact that the *Wasp* went to Portsmouth to complete her stores before sailing on her cruise, but does not altogether exonerate the naval historians referred to from the charge of carelessness.

been the *Wasp*, as there was no other United States vessel cruising in that vicinity at the time. The engagement took place towards evening, it being calm weather, but in the morning the British frigate alone remained to tell the tale; which makes it certain that the gallant little sloop fought till quite disabled, and then fell off and sunk with all her crew. Two years after, when all hope of hearing tidings from her gallant commander or daring men was past, a government agent came to Newburyport to distribute to the heirs of her deceased officers and crew, \$50,000 prize money, and twelve months' wages, which was due them when the *Wasp* was lost.

In the summer of 1812, political divisions had so far widened, that the 4th of July was separately celebrated by the two parties,—the “peace” party, under the name of “Disciples of Washington,” and the “war” party, or Democrats. On the 10th of July, the latter party met under a call to “Republican citizens,” and passed resolutions sustaining the war;* while the sole instance of public approval accorded to the brave men who carried out the designs of the Government, on the field or the ocean, by the Federalists, was the vote of the Washington Benevolent Society, expressing admiration of the conduct of Captain Isaac Hull; and even this was mingled with depreciatory remarks on the cause for which he fought, and lamentations that such bravery was so misapplied.

A careful reticence pervades the columns of the leading newspaper of Newburyport, (which was opposed to the Administration,) during this period, of the doings of the Democratic party in the town, practically ignoring their existence, though they possessed considerable strength in the first year of the war, as is shown by the votes thrown for Governor in 1812. But the next year, when Timothy Pickering was chosen Presidential elector, in Essex north, the “peace ticket,” was carried by 696, to 136 for the “war” candidate.

For greater security, some owners of American merchant vessels, asked and obtained licenses from the British, which protected them from seizure by the armed vessels of that power. The British naval force afloat, was often glad to be supplied with fresh provisions, &c., by our coasters, and for this and other objects granted these protective

* Salem Register.

licenses ; but in accepting them, a new peril was encountered. A vessel belonging to Newburyport, the ship *Aurora*, having one of these licenses, was *taken by a New York privateer*, and sent into Rhode Island, where she was condemned by the decision of Judge Howell, of that district, on the ground "that by accepting a British license, she had *denationalized* herself." Upon hearing this decision, one individual belonging to this port, destroyed his license, and was within a few hours seized by a British cruiser and detained because he had none. Thus vessels of small capacity were effectually prevented from venturing out to sea ; the coasting business was cut up, root and branch.

In the winter of 1813-14, all the Newburyport coasters in Boston were hauled up and stripped, the collector refusing to give them a clearance. Up to the 14th of February, 1814, there were but *two* arrivals at this port. Dry goods and other articles of quick consumption, were brought from Boston principally by wagons, of which a regular freighting line was established, their arrival and departure being duly chronicled by the jocose editor of the *Herald*, in the form of "ship news," being duly headed "arrivals," "clearances," and "disasters," &c.

In obedience to general orders issued to the militia of the State, alarm posts were established in the town, at which the companies were to assemble on the prospect of any immediate danger, and in case of invasion, those nearest were to toll a bell ; on which the militia men were to appear, perfectly armed and equipped. One of these alarm posts was in Essex street, opposite where the selectmen's room then was. Many British armed vessels were from time to time seen hovering on our coast, and one, the *Majestic*, a *raze*, continued watching at the harbor for some time before the *Wasp* put to sea, and while she was lying at Horton's wharf, where she had for company, two of Jefferson's gun-boats,* numbers Eighty-one and Eighty-three. It was supposed that the *Majestic* had in view, the capture of the *Wasp* and these boats, but she finally made off without crossing the bar. It was rumored in town that she had landed a party of thirty men at Plum Island, and tried to bribe the keeper

* Built by Stephen Coffin, of this town. They carried one long twenty-four pounder, a twelve-pound carronade, and were calculated for sixteen men.

of the lights to pilot her up to town, but if there was any truth in the story, the effort was a failure.

An eastern coaster was soon after chased into the river by a British privateer, (on the 11th of September,) but the guns at Plum Island fort being brought to bear on her, she sheered off without accomplishing her object.

A respectable force was stationed at Plum Island, the Washington Light Guards volunteering for this service, in place of the drafted guard, where they maintained regular camp exercises; the Newburyport regiment of militia, was also actively employed. The disposition to organize for the defence of the town was universal, while the citizens were almost as unanimous not to engage in aggressive expeditions. One hundred and twenty citizens who were exempt by age from military service, organized themselves into an independent infantry company, under Captain Ab. Wheelwright, and Lieutenant Amos Pearson.

The firemen, also, who were legally exempt, formed themselves into two companies of sixty or seventy men each, and armed and equipped, offered their services to the town; they were under the command of Captains Benjamin Lord and Eliphalet Brown. Other exempts *under* forty-five, enlisted in Captain Perkins's company, having chosen for Lieutenants, Nicholas Johnson, Jr., and Ebenezer Moseley, Esq. The list of one company, afterwards designated as the *Silver Greys*, embraced the names of one hundred and ten individuals, a large proportion being men of wealth and standing in the community. They met for military exercise once a week, each member being provided with "a good musket, bayonet and belt, cartridge-box, and twenty-four pounds of ball cartridges made to his musket."

An observatory, furnished with a telescope, was erected on the high ground called Lunt's hill, near the head of South street, for the purpose of watching the movements of vessels off the coast. The fire companies were for a time posted on Plum Island turnpike, near the bridge, where they erected a temporary battery, intending to defend the passage to the town, if a landing was effected on Plum Island, but fortunately no such attempt was made. Indeed, it seemed the policy of the British to spare New England, on account of her opposition to the war, and to expend their strength at the

south, where it was more ardently supported. It was thought prudent, however, to associate a large committee with the selectmen, to devise and carry out proper measures of preparation for attack and defence. The following are the names of the committee:

William Bartlett, Esq.,	Captain Mich. Titcomb, Jr.,
Mr. Abner Wood,	Major Abram Perkins,
Captain Thomas M. Clark,	Colonel Ebenezer Moseley,
Captain Nich. Johnson,	Mr. Joseph Williams,
Mr. Jacob Gerrish,	Captain William Russell.

It will not do to omit all mention of another company, formed during this period, most of whom, it is believed, outlived their attachment to it. This was the "Sea Fencibles," and was composed principally of shipmasters, and others who had been thrown out of employment, and otherwise pecuniarily injured by the war and the previous restrictive policy of the Administration; they were, in every sense, a perfect specimen of the pure New England Federalism of 1814, and adopted a flag, which told as plainly as bunting could, their sentiments; bearing as it did on its field, the insignia of but *five* States. They took their turn in performing fatigue duty at Plum Island, to which place they were accompanied in October, by the selectmen and the committee of defence, where they planted their standard, naming the station "Fort Phillip" in honor of the Lieutenant Governor, when a New England salute was fired, (five guns,) and an address from the parapet of the fort was made, by Captain Thomas Cary. The standard borne by this company, was presented to them by the ladies of Newburyport. A gun-house erected for their use, afterwards passed into the hands of the Newburyport Artillery Company.

Ordnance and musket had been furnished to the town by the State, the batteries on Plum Island and Plum Island turnpike had been erected under the direction of State officers. After the peace the ordnance and muskets were returned to Boston, and the buildings, utensils, &c., sold at auction, and the proceeds paid over to the agent of the Board of War.* The fort on Plum Island was soon after washed away.

In the summer of 1814, when the news of Napoleon's abdication

* Town Records.

was received, the success of the allies was celebrated in Newburyport by displays of flags on the shipping, the ringing of all the bells in the town, (except that belonging to Mr. Giles's* meeting house, the second Presbyterian,) and the firing of a grand royal French salute of twenty-one guns, and at sunset a New England salute of five guns. The Town Hall, Observatory, and other buildings, were brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and transparencies, with appropriate mottoes, were exhibited; and all the demonstrations of joy manifested which usually accompany welcome public news. There were many who dissented from the propriety of these proceedings, but they attempted no public counter movement.

* Some wicked wit suggested that it "was not *sound*, which was the reason of its not playing an accompaniment to the majority." But Mr. Giles was too consistent in his political opinions to sanction what he did not approve, though standing alone among the clergy here in his support of the Administration.

From the Salem Register, we learn that "on the Fourth of July, 1809, the Rev. Mr. Giles, of Newburyport, delivered an oration before the Democrats of Salem, who subsequently presented to him a handsome service of plate."

PERIOD V.

PEACE, BUT NOT PROSPERITY.

On the proclamation of peace between Great Britain and the United States, extravagant were the rejoicings in Newburyport; the public buildings and many private ones were illuminated, flags again floated from the mast-head of the vessels,* a *Federal* salute was once more heard from the eighteen-pounders of the "Sea Fencibles," and on some of the public buildings the *united* flags of the United States and England were seen.

But with the return of peace did not reappear the anticipated prosperity. Taxes were heavy, and duties were laid on so many articles of domestic manufacture, for the purpose of raising a revenue, as to make the risk of manufacturing great, and the certain profits small. And though Newburyport despatched the first ship to Calcutta which sailed from the United States after the peace, which ship (the *Indus*) brought home the first news of her arrival out,† the omen of successful rivalship failed; the days of her commercial prosperity were apparently numbered.

The success of the allies in Europe, though celebrated by the Federal party in Newburyport as a public blessing, was in fact one of the fatal blows given to the prosperity of the town. While the Great Agitator reigned unchecked in Europe, his mania for

* On the shipping which was hauled up during the war, inverted tar barrels or kegs were placed over the tops of the masts, to protect them from the weather; these were facetiously and sarcastically called by the sailors "Madison's night-caps."

† Newburyport Herald.

annihilating the commerce of Great Britain, and the measures he took for carrying that object into effect, threw all the advantages of his gigantic plan, called the "continental system," into our hands ; and if the risk to our commerce, under his unjustifiable decrees, was great, the profits, in the long run, were much greater. Hence, on the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, and consequent peace between England and the Continent, the maritime nations of the east resumed their natural rights on the highways of the ocean, and in the proportion with which they thus availed themselves, was our own share diminished, and our monopoly of the profits entirely broken up.

There was no longer room for the growth of all our Atlantic seaports, and the shipping business naturally concentrated to a few points ; Boston, New York and New Orleans were hereafter to be the great marts of foreign exchange. What Newburyport and the smaller seaports retained, must now be secured by force of enterprise and determination, not favoring circumstances. Reasons have been elsewhere offered in these pages for the failure of Newburyport at this critical juncture ; she stood still, and saw her old trade dying out, with but feeble efforts to resuscitate it. The result was its irretrievable loss.

We would not imply that all was surrendered without a struggle, but the fortunes of the great capitalists, with a few exceptions, had been swallowed up by the sea, devoured by the fire, or decayed by inaction during war ; and enterprises which would once have secured the sympathies and aid of hundreds, were now left to languish in the hands, and hang as a dead weight on the energies and purses, of those who still looked for the renovation of the town.

One of the first projects was to secure the aid of the Government in erecting piers and beacons, for the greater safety of the navigation of the river ; and for the purpose, a petition was presented to the State Legislature for leave to cede the land to the United States. The piers were built, but foreign vessels were not thus to be baited to our wharves.

Looking in another direction, up the river, it was seen by some of our shrewdest merchants, that a valuable inland trade might be secured, were the obstructions to its free navigation removed or

avoided, by turning its blue waters into a canal. In times past, at favorable seasons of the year, much timber and firewood had found its way to Newburyport on rafts down the river; and why, if navigation was made easy and secure, should not country produce reach us by the same means? The most feasible plan seemed a canal; and for the purpose of securing this, Messrs. Wm. Bartlett, Moses Brown and John Pettengill obtained an Act of Incorporation, in the spring of 1816, as "Proprietors of an Association for Clearing and Locking the Falls in the river Merrimac." For several years they dragged along this enterprise by the strength of their names and means, and subscriptions were obtained in aid of the object to a considerable amount. At one time there was \$80,000 subscribed, but they were not sustained with the energy and determined perseverance of which the project was worthy. The Middlesex canal drew the favor of the Legislature from the object, and directed a large portion of the inland trade to Boston, which Nature intended should be ours.

If this work had been carried out as proposed, through Rockingham County, New Hampshire, to Concord, and by way of Exeter river connecting with Portsmouth, passing, as it would on the first named section of the route, through Chester, Candia, Allenstown and Deerfield, a well-timbered country, the whole difficulty afterwards experienced by the town in procuring supplies of wood required by our ship-builders, and even for fuel, would have been avoided, and a cheap and direct supply have been always attainable.

This scarcity of fuel is indicated in the many votes of the town, that wood coasters, who were deterred from entering our harbor by reason of the cost of pilotage, should have this tax on their profits reduced, by the *town* paying the pilots "six cents per cord for every cord brought over the bar." *

But there was still another resource which promised a reasonable reward to adventure, — the Fisheries. When the first colonists at Plymouth, (1620,) sought a patent from King James, one argument they used was, the profit which would accrue to the crown from the prosecution of the fisheries. In the early records of the "Company of Massachusetts Bay," we find that "fishermen"

* Town Records.

were one of the very few classes of persons exempt from "training." When the treaty of peace was under consideration in 1783, *Massachusetts desired no peace* which would not secure to the United States the freedom of the fishing grounds. In token of their determination always to maintain their right to them, they affixed the image of a cod to the walls of the State House, which still remains.

In the winter of 1816-17, the Mercantile Company* of Newburyport was formed for the purpose of prosecuting the bank fishery, and in the spring of 1817 the company fitted out their first vessels in this comparatively new business. It was rather a poor year for fish, yet after paying the interest of the fund, \$50,000, the net profits were estimated at about twelve per cent.; making the income for the year, on the capital employed, eighteen per cent. The number of sail employed in this business was sixty, all schooners, with the exception of one brig and four sloops, making an aggregate tonnage of 2,874; the largest of these vessels was the *Despatch*, of 118 tons, and the smallest, the *Black Bird*, of only 8 tons.

The fisheries have remained a permanent interest of Newburyport; yet, for some years they have not been very profitable, for the reasons that the fish are diminishing on their old haunts, making good fares more uncertain; and within two or three years there has been a reluctance to engage in them, on account of liability to interruption from British cruisers. But the most powerful inducement to abandon the business, is the fact, that that interpretation of the bounty laws which refuses a bounty on any fish but cod, has obtained here.

During the war a direct tax was laid on various articles, for the purpose of raising a revenue, but which fell so heavily on the industrial interests of the country as to paralyze manufacturing interests, and produce a complete stagnation in trade. Heavy duties were laid on carriages, and to save this tax, many persons unhinged their vehicles; but this experiment did not save them from the duty being levied. Retail dealers in wines, spirits and foreign merchandise, were forced to pay a license tax, the amount

* Private and independent enterprise had been before them in this business. See "Tonnage Table."

of the tax being proportioned to the number of inhabitants to the square mile in which the store licensed was located. For a district containing over one hundred families, the "retailer's license tax" was twenty-five dollars.

From April 18th, 1815, duties were laid on an immense variety of goods; there were taxes on nearly all articles of luxury, and licenses were required for the conduct of many branches of business hitherto unrestricted. There was a duty on iron, candles, hats, umbrellas, parasols, paper, playing and visiting cards, saddles, bridles, boots, beer, porter, and distilled spirits, cigars, snuff, tanned and dressed leather; land was taxed, chaises were taxed, gold and silver ware, &c. These taxes it was found exceedingly difficult to collect. On the 6th of August, 1817, there were published the names of one hundred and ninety-five persons in this town who refused or had neglected to pay the duties levied, and on whose estates attachments were laid for the same; additional lists were from time to time given, until the most objectionable duties were removed, and a change in the mode of collection authorized, (1828.)

The summer of 1817 was enlivened by the visit of President Monroe. At a town meeting held in June, a Committee of Reception was appointed, of which Ebenezer Mosely, Esq., was chairman. The town of Newbury was invited to unite in the reception ceremonies. The arrangements were made for the reception of the President, on Thursday, the 10th of July, but some untoward delay prevented his arrival until the following Saturday. A deputation of the field and staff officers went as far as Ipswich to meet him, while an escort of cavalry, under Colonel Jeremiah Coleman, the Honorable Bailey Bartlett, Sheriff of Essex County, and suite, the Committee of Arrangements, with a concourse of citizens in carriages, awaited his arrival on the lower green, (Old Town.)

Here the President was briefly addressed by Colonel Mosely, in behalf of the town, when the procession proceeded through Newbury to High street. On reaching the Newburyport line, then South street,* the President was saluted by a peal of bells, and the "roar

* The name of this street has recently been changed to *Bromfield*, in honor of JOHN BROMFIELD, Esq., who left \$10,000 to the town, for the purpose of "improving and ornamenting the streets by setting out shade trees," &c. In

of cannon from Captain Coffin's well disciplined corps of artillery." A multitude of citizens had gathered at this point, and his welcome was most enthusiastic. The procession moved up High street to the mall, where the Washington Light Infantry company, under Captain Balch, awaited the procession. Here the President passed under a civic arch, decorated with flowers, and along each side, were arranged, forming a living avenue, one thousand eight hundred and fifty children, chiefly pupils of the public schools of the town and vicinity. From the front of the Court House, hung a flag which had been borne in the battles of the Revolution. The President was then conducted to the "Wolfe Tavern," where a dinner was provided. Here was another concourse of people, and being fairly within the town, and its guest, another address was made to the President by the chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. At the dinner, General Swift presided, and many distinguished guests were present, among whom were General Dearborn, Brigadier General Miller, General Brickett, Commodore Bainbridge, — Mason and suite, Doctor Waterhouse, clergymen, and others. During the dinner, a portrait painter procured, unseen, the opportunity of sketching the President as he sat at table, and secured of him an excellent and most life-like portrait. After dinner, the President proceeded, without escort, to New Hampshire.

Those whose memories can carry them back to the winter of 1816-17, will not fail to recollect the excitement occasioned by the rumored highway robbery and assault committed upon the person of Major Elijah P. Goodrich, an individual belonging to Maine, then residing near the Essex Merrimac bridge. From the condition in which the major was found, stripped, mutilated, and deprived of his senses, it was readily believed that a most outrageous and dangerous crime had been committed on the public highway. On recovering his reason, the major stated, "that he had just reached the brow of the hill, on the south-westerly side of the chain-bridge, when he was beset by three men, pulled from his horse, dragged over a fence into a field, and there beaten and robbed of every thing valuable in his possession." A pistol-shot wound was found

March, 1851, a committee of five persons was appointed "to receive and expend the interest of the donation, according to the will of the donor."

on the *left* hand, and his arm was stabbed with a knife "taken," as he said, "from his own pocket." The community was greatly excited by the additions to and reiterations of Goodrich's story, especially as an attempt had been made, the same night, to break open a store on Cornhill. The major offered a reward of \$300 for the discovery of the robbers and assassins. But the town speedily filled up a subscription paper, by which a reward of \$1,000 was offered for the detection of the villains; and the advice was publicly given that "until this gang of desperadoes was arrested, citizens, necessarily out in the evening, *should go armed*;" and the proposal was made to double the number of watchmen employed by the town. Several persons were arrested on suspicion, but nothing was proved against them. As inquiries multiplied upon the major, and it became necessary to particularize, he stated, "that while being robbed, he counterfeited death, *Falstaff* fashion, for fear of meeting with the reality, until two of them had quitted him and gone to some distance, when he suddenly and valiantly sprung upon the other, and overpowered him for a time, but that finally this third man escaped." At last, the major so far forgot the consistency necessary to fiction, as to accuse a worthy and upright citizen of the town, and a personal friend of his own, of aiding and abetting in the robbery.

During the examination which followed, among the other efforts used to solve this mysterious affair, an appliance of the Dark Ages was brought into use. Search was made far and near for some one skilled in the use of the divining rod. And now behold! in the nineteenth century, and in the State of Massachusetts, a scene that should have been reserved for the Middle Ages, and some dark corner of the earth, where the light of science had never penetrated! A little, withered old man, ycleped a *wizard*, armed with a twig of witchhazel, with the mystic OBI* wound on the larger end, was actually seen traversing the highways of Essex north, and seeking, under supernal and infernal guidance, the *buried gold* which the credulous still believed these oblivious robbers had concealed somewhere in the neighborhood of the bridge. But the charm would not work, the rod would not dip, and the treasure remained undiscovered, as still did the robbers.

*A piece of leather dipped in the ashes of a witch.

And thus, after months of excitement and alarm to the timid, having exhausted legal and supernatural means for the discovery of the perpetrators of this high-handed outrage, the conviction forced itself on the minds of the community, that *no robbery had been committed*, no assault perpetrated, and that Major Elijah P. Goodrich was but the synonyme for treachery, imposture and swindler. The man had thus robbed and mutilated *himself* for the sake of avoiding some pecuniary obligations, and for months managed to deceive and impose on the public, and keep the proof, if not the suspicion, of the deed from himself. It is needless to add that he soon removed from this part of the country, carrying with him nothing but the contempt and execration of the community he had so shamefully abused.

In 1820 a convention was called for revising the Constitution of Massachusetts; the delegates from Newburyport were the Hon. S. S. Wilde,* Hon. William B. Banister, Rev. John Andrews, Dr. Nathan Noyes, William Bartlett, Esq., and James Prince, Esq., all Federalists but Dr. Noyes and Mr. Prince, who were designated Republicans. One of the most important amendments proposed at this convention, was a plan for enlarging the freedom of the individual, by a change in the management of religious bodies and parochial affairs. But some unacceptable clause in the drawing of the amendment, caused it to be rejected by the people; and the full freedom they sought was not attained until 1834. In the same way, various other desirable propositions were lost, because linked with something which was *not* wanted. The people proved to have very clear ideas of their own political needs, and no conglomerate substitute, in lieu of the substance they desired, prepared by interested leaders, could find acceptance with them. This convention sat fifty-six days.

When the town, nineteen years later, was called to vote on an amendment to the Constitution of the State, removing the "property qualification" for voters for Senators, the yeas were given, 206 to 6 nays, showing a state of feeling in the community, highly liberal, and practically Democratic.

* Hon. Judge Wilde, now of Boston.

This year Maine was created a State, and admitted into the Union. The province of Maine had been purchased by the Massachusetts colony in 1677, of Sir Fernando Georges, for £1,250 ; it had thus remained, under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, until this time. A reservation of certain lands was, however, made by Massachusetts, the claims to which have but recently been extinguished. The sale of Maine lands, was a permanent source of income applied to the increase of the State School fund.

A new phase of the town was now exhibited : the era of rapidly acquiring was past, and that of small savings was introduced ; *economy* was now the watchword of the town, which had previously been the centre of extended and munificent liberality. To *save* was become a cardinal virtue, since to *make* was become an impossible one. One permanent and valuable institution arose out of this prostration of hope and ambition, the Savings Bank, which was first opened to the public on Wednesday, the 5th of April, 1820 ; the doors remained open but *one hour* between twelve and one, during which time twenty-four persons deposited four hundred and sixty-five dollars ; the deposits being principally made by mechanics, laborers, domestics, and for minors. The next week there was deposited by twenty-five persons, one thousand three hundred and seventeen dollars ; one mechanic brought two hundred dollars, mostly in change, which he had saved little by little, and which had been lying an unproductive hoard upon his hands. The number of depositors and the amount placed in the institution, have gradually increased, until the trustees have at their disposal over *one million of dollars*. The value of such an institution cannot be overrated. Its existence has proved the turning-point in the character of many individuals and families, who have thus been enabled to preserve, not only the money there deposited, which would otherwise have been absorbed in unnecessary, and scarcely observable expenses, but of greater consequence still, it has encouraged *habits* of temperance and frugality among that class to whom these virtues are of the first necessity in shielding them from self-induced, and therefore degrading poverty. The Savings Institution of Newburyport was established rather as a benevolent undertaking, than with any view to profits by the originators, which result is indeed excluded by their

own by-laws; which provide, "that none of the trustees shall receive any compensation for their services," no salary being attached to any office, but that of "treasurer, or such other officer as may be found necessary."

In 1854 was incorporated the "Newburyport Five Cent Savings Bank," which extends the principles of the "Savings Bank," by offering facilities to children, to deposit for safe keeping the small sum of half a dime, and putting upon interest all deposits amounting to three dollars. The President of this institution is J. B. Morse, Esq.; Secretary, Rev. D. P. Pike.

Newburyport has always made good provision for its poor. In 1816-17, so comfortable were the quarters for the town's poor found, that many idle and vicious persons chose rather to remain dependent and well fed, in the Alms House, than to make the necessary exertion to support themselves; and the expenses of this department becoming thus exceedingly burdensome, a committee was appointed in 1817 to ascertain what measures could be adopted to reduce them. In the winter of this year there were in the Alms House one hundred and three persons, and in other houses owned by the town, fifty-one who were partially supported, and one hundred and fifty other families who received occasional supplies of fuel, &c. Of the number in the Alms House, fourteen were above seventy years of age, seven were idiots, or partially insane persons, twenty-four were children, and thirty-three foreigners and transient persons; twenty-five of the number were intemperate, or otherwise suffering from vice. In view of these facts, the committee suggested that a distinction should be made, and a more rigorous discipline adopted towards those who were criminal rather than unfortunate.

Spinning had already been introduced into the women's department; and the men were now variously employed in working on a farm and vegetable garden belonging to the town; and at times upon repairing the streets and highways. The introduction of this system had the desired effect of sifting out the idle and unworthy from the unfortunate poor, without detracting from the usual comforts of the latter.

In March, 1821, the town voted to erect for the better accommodation of the poor, a "three-story brick building on the south-

easterly side of the old house," at an estimated cost of from twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars, which vote was carried out in the subsequent erection of the building, appropriated to their use at the present time.

The next year the shambles of the itinerant butchers, which had occupied the space in the Market square, left vacant by the removal of the old meeting-house of the first church, were removed, and the present brick market-house was built, the hall of which, before the seats were put in, was occupied as a chair factory.

The "Navigation Law," which went into effect this year, (1820,) restricting vessels from bringing the produce of the British colonies to ports of the United States, or taking cargoes from here,* very injuriously affected our shipping interest, as many vessels were engaged in the eastern trade, while the exorbitant duties imposed by France, and some other of the continental nations, on American goods and tonnage, tended greatly to depress maritime enterprise. France followed this mistaken policy to such an absurd length, that it amounted to an entire prohibition of intercourse. In September of 1820, the ship *Jane*, Captain John M. Miltimore, of Newburyport, arrived at Bordeaux from Norfolk, and found, on arrival there, a new tonnage duty of *eighteen dollars per ton*,† to have paid which, would have consumed the value of the vessel and her cargo. Captain Miltimore took the wise, prompt, and decisive step of proceeding at once to Paris, and applying to the American Consul, and Mr. Albert Gallatin, then our Minister at the Court of St. Cloud, representing to them the unfortunate position his vessel was in. Mr. Gallatin, though despairing of success, took up the subject, and laid the case before the Government. A favorable reply was received, and the duty in this case removed, and afterwards modified.

* The origin of the custom, prevalent in many parts of New England, of eating salt fish for dinner every Saturday, is traced to these restrictions upon exports. The fish that was formerly destined to the West Indies, was systematically and patriotically consumed for the benefit of the fishermen.

† Commercial Reading Room News Book, November, 1820.

In 1821, Judges Thatcher* and Wilde were appointed by the town a committee to report on the expediency of introducing the Lancasterian, or monitorial system of teaching into the public schools. Their recommendation in favor of the experiment was, during the next year, carried into execution, reducing the four male writing schools to two Lancasterian schools. The friends of this system were at the commencement peculiarly fortunate in the teachers selected to carry out the new plan; and much of the success was fairly attributable to the tact and extraordinary exertions of "Master Coolidge,"† an experienced and devoted teacher; but with the introduction of new men, the monitorial system began to fail, and gradually fell into decadence, and in the course of a few years the advocates of the system found but slight support, and a gradual return to the old plan excited no united opposition. It was customary in these Lancasterian schools to give rewards to the best scholars. In the town expenses for the year 1825 ‡ is this item: "Seventy-three dollars for rewards for Lancasterian scholars."

To show that capitalists were not quite idle during this depressed period of the town's history, there may be instanced the building of the Newburyport bridge, crossing the Merrimac from the foot of Summer street to the Salisbury shore, for which a charter was obtained in 1826, and which was opened for travel on the 1st September, 1827. The cost of its erection was \$70,000, the stock being divided into one thousand shares. Its construction was opposed by those interested in the Essex Merrimac bridge, as it was anticipated that it would largely divert travel from the latter. The efforts of its opponents were as ineffectual as their fears were prophetic. The Newburyport bridge saved to travellers from Hampton, Portsmouth,

* Hon. George Thatcher, a native of Biddeford, Maine, who resided in Newburyport for several years.

† Town Records.

‡ An African School, for colored children, was at this time supported. The few colored children now in the town are taught in the common public schools, being also eligible candidates for the "Putnam Free School," no distinction being observed on account of color. This class of the population has greatly diminished. A locality in the neighborhood of the old burying hill, where a number of colored families reside, and which was formerly more populous, is still called "Guinea."

and the eastward, a circuitous ride of some three miles, landing them in the business centre of Newburyport, instead of three miles north of it. The first year the tolls amounted to \$2,788.58, and the next year they nearly doubled, being \$4,358.05. The present rate of tolls is equal to six per cent. on shares of \$48 par value.

A factory for the production of hosiery* was also established about this time, (1825.) It kept in operation twenty looms, making from two to three hundred pair of stockings per week, and employing from forty to fifty operatives, chiefly females.

In 1827, Edmund Bartlett, Esq., established a lace school, which contained at one time ninety pupils, who were first instructed in working lace, and then employed in its production,—a very opportune enterprise, when so few sources were open to female labor. While the style of lace wrought continued in fashion, this employment went far towards supporting many indigent families.

Just after the termination of the Greek Revolution, 1830, an association was formed in this place for the purpose of establishing schools in Greece. A primary school was commenced in Athens, from funds raised by the "Richmond Circle," and at a fair held in May, 1833, six hundred and fifty-nine dollars were raised in aid of this cause.

From time to time various plans were devised for mitigating the evils arising from an indiscriminate sale of spirituous liquors in the town. One of the most novel plans was suggested in 1820, by a committee appointed by the town, "to consider the abuses of the liquor licenses," appointed at the request of Moses Brown, and others. On inquiry, the committee found that many poor persons, who had received clothing and other supplies from the town, were in the habit of exchanging these for liquor, and that some minors had actually committed thefts for the sake of obtaining the means of maintaining their credit at the bars of the retail liquor dealers. Under these circumstances, finding the poor-tax of the town thus improperly increased, and vice *directly* generated, the committee

*In 1830 the American Institute awarded a diploma for hosiery made at this factory, and exhibited at the fair of that institution, held in New York in November. This concern, with the machinery, was sold at auction in 1838.

recommended, "that the selectmen make out a list of all the common drunkards in the town, and have their names posted up in every shop licensed to sell liquor," with the explicit understanding that the license should be taken away if they furnished any such persons or youth with liquor.

For several successive years after the organization of the Washington Total Abstinence Society, the town granted them the free use of Market Hall for public meetings, on Sabbath evenings; and in various other ways facilitated the movements of the temperance societies formed in the place, regarding the diffusion of temperance principles as a direct exterminator of poverty and idleness.

The winter of 1820-21 was remarkable for the intensity and endurance of the cold. The Merrimac was frozen over to Black Rocks, and the vessels in the river were blockaded as effectually as if an armament opposed their egress. On the 26th of January, the temperature by different thermometers in town varied from 18° to 20° below zero. A memorandum, entered in the journal of William G. White, Esq., reads: "The river has been closed for two days. This day, January 26th, (Friday,) multitudes have passed and repassed. One team of two yokes of cattle brought over a load of wood; others with hay, &c. You may travel with safety from Haverhill and above, down to the light-houses, [on Plum Island,] and so over to Black Rocks. This is the first time the river has been so completely closed since 1780." The opportunity was taken to measure the width of the river from two points. From the lower part of Ferry-way wharf to Salisbury shore, at low-water mark, the distance was found to be seventy-two rods; and from Brown's wharf to the opposite shore, ninety rods. Much damage was done by the cold. Many fruit trees were split by the frost, and several cattle, during the night, were frozen to death. For eleven weeks there was excellent sleighing; when, during the first week in February, a sudden change in the weather took place, with rain and thaw. The mercury rose to 50°, making a difference of *sixty-eight degrees* in one week.

In August of 1824, the town was called to participate in the general joy which pervaded the nation on the return of La Fayette

to this country. At a town meeting held August 23d, the selectmen, with ten other gentlemen, were appointed a committee to make arrangements for his reception on his expected visit to the town. The usual military escort was provided, and much the same order of arrangements prepared as in the reception of Washington and Monroe; but La Fayette's entrance occurring in the evening, and during a shower of rain, necessitated changes to suit the time and circumstances. The General made his entry, like his illustrious predecessors, Washington and President Monroe, over the Parker river bridge, and thence, through Oldtown, to High street, where he was saluted with national honors by the military, a signal-gun being fired from the summit of Oldtown Hill, informing the inhabitants of Newburyport of his arrival at the boundaries of the town, and as a timely intimation for them to illuminate their dwellings.

James Prince, Esq., who now occupied the house formerly owned by Nathaniel Tracy, Esq., the host of President Washington on the occasion of his visit, now offered the use of the same mansion to General La Fayette and his suite. The pleasure of the coincidence was increased from the fact that the same chamber which Washington occupied, with the bed and other furniture, had been retained in the mansion when it changed proprietors, and was now offered for the repose of La Fayette.

In the morning, an hour after breakfast was devoted by the General to the reception of company, among whom he had the pleasure of welcoming an old companion-in-arms, Daniel Foster, Esq., to whom the General had presented a sword when the former held the rank of Serjeant in La Fayette's Select Corps of Infantry, during the war of the Revolution.

A procession had been planned for the morning, which, on account of the unfavorable state of the weather, was abandoned; though the schools were paraded "the first fair day" after the General's departure.

The meals were prepared, and the tables arranged for the town's distinguished guest, by Mr. Prince Stetson, who kept a hotel on the corner of State and Temple streets. His son Charles, (now of the widely reputed firm of "Coleman & Stetson," proprietors of the Astor House, New York,) a lad of thirteen, acted as *valet de chambre* to the General.

The settlement of the "Massachusetts claims" was long a subject of engrossing interest among the politicians of the day. The claims, thus designated, were demands on the General Government for reimbursement of certain moneys expended during the war of 1812, in the payment of soldiers, and defence of the State. These claims by Massachusetts were resisted on the part of the Government, on the ground that the Governor of the Commonwealth, Caleb Strong, had assumed the position "that the militia could not be called out without the consent of the Chief Executive of the State, with the advice and consent of the Council;" and farther, that if consent was thus given, "they should be commanded by none other than State officers, excepting, always, the President of the United States." This position was sustained by the town of Newburyport in their several addresses to the Governor and Council in 1812; while the Secretary of War peremptorily declared, that unless the militia of Massachusetts was put under United States officers, the Government would pay none of the expenses incurred by the State; and on this question, issue was subsequently taken.

During the Presidency of James Monroe, the attention of Congress was particularly called to these claims, and a distinction was attempted to be made between the services of militia "patriotically and spontaneously rendered," and those which were not, by designating particularly the services of the Fifth Division of the Massachusetts Militia as of the former character. The President, also, in his message to Congress, February, 1824, recommended payment for "services actually rendered," but on the untenable ground that "the present Executive [Eustis] had abandoned the principle assumed by Strong, and *therefore* the Government could consistently settle the claims;" thus making their payment dependent, not on the justice or injustice of the demand, but on the shade of political opinion entertained by the Governor who happened for the moment to occupy the chair of state. Of these claims, a portion was due to citizens of Newburyport. The whole amount claimed was about \$400,000, of which \$227,176.48 were admitted by the Secretary of War, in 1837, to be properly vouched, but none of which, up to this day, (1864,) has been paid.

The militia, the object of so much solicitude during the early

history of the country, had long been falling into disrepute ; a system adapted to the period of its organization, (1792,) when the population was comparatively small, the country sparsely settled, and the danger of invasion by no means remote, was an unwieldy, impracticable and unnecessary body forty years later, when the population had increased to some fourteen millions, the Government was firmly established, and the danger from foreign aggression reduced to its minimum. True, the militia system had been revised and patched up at intervals, but fundamental objections remained to it. One of these was the immense number of men which it assumed to hold in service ; and also the number of days appointed for training, which being sufficient to prove expensive and burdensome, were also felt to be inadequate to the professed object in view, viz., the acquisition of a perfect knowledge of military tactics. The greater inherent evil, however, was the destruction of military ardor and the true military spirit, which were extinguished by the system latterly adopted, of accepting a small annual tax, in lieu of actual service ; thus virtually exempting the wealthier portion of the community, and by inference degrading the militia, by filling its ranks with men from that class of society who felt even a small money tax to be a burden, but who yet paid a heavier one by the consumption of their time in musters and trainings. The musters themselves were deemed by many, as so many occasions of ministering to vice and immorality, by the inducements to intemperance and other excesses, frequently indulged in by the crowds attracted together at these annual displays.

Originally, the militia men had been required to provide their own equipments, but in 1808 this ground was abandoned, and the National Government undertook to furnish them ; but the appropriations were so inadequate as to amount to a mere trifle, when divided among the States. Massachusetts then provided by law, (1810,) that the several towns should furnish them, *first*, to such as were unable to procure them for themselves, and then successively to those to whom the tax was inconveniently great. The fund from which these equipments were furnished was derived from the taxes imposed upon certain conditional exempts. This fund had accumulated so fast in Newburyport, where unusual diligence was exercised in exacting it, that in 1819, the selectmen wrote to

the Adjutant General of the Commonwealth "to know what they should do with it; having already in store six times as many arms as were demanded for the use of the companies here." The Adjutant General, William H. Sumner, in replying, advised that the money be expended in procuring "uniforms for the men, and everything necessary for their *comfort and convenience*."

A proposition was agitated at this time to divide the County of Essex, so as to cut off the southern portion, and unite several of the river towns in a new county, to be called "Merrimac." Had this been carried out several years earlier, the company formed for the purpose of "clearing the Merrimac," and rendering it navigable, very possibly might not have been crushed out of existence, by the success of the Middlesex canal, as all these river towns would then have had a united, in place of a divided, interest.

Every change in the men and measures of the town, each new era of prosperity or depression, was marked with the execution of some work, or the broaching of some project, best adapted to that particular epoch. Thus, the calm which enveloped in an enervating atmosphere, and effectually shrouded the speculative eyes of enterprise, was a time favorable to patient deliberation, and to the adjustment of small but complicated affairs. For sixty-two years had the claims of the "proprietors of common and undivided lands" been perpetually thrust in the way of the town, when any plan for the improvement of the public ways or lands was suggested. Did the town grant leave for a new wharf to be built, or did the selectmen undertake to lay out a new landing, or a more convenient road to burying hill, or common pasture, there was almost certain to arise some unwelcome proprietary claim, interfering with and delaying, if not eventually preventing, the completion of the work. And as the number of proprietors was largely increased by time, some having become such by purchase, while heirs had multiplied on the number of original grantees, new perplexities were each year added to the past.

In 1826, were happily terminated these conflicting claims, which had for more than half a century marred the executive action of the town. These endlessly recurring controversies between the

town and the "proprietors' committee," were finally terminated by the latter giving to the town a deed of all the lands claimed by them, within the limits of Newburyport, for the sum of \$1,200. The right to prosecute these claims, on the part of the proprietors, was a natural right, as well as a legal one; yet were they sometimes vexatiously, and often inopportunately, insisted upon, and their permanent extinguishment relieved the town from many embarrassments in which it had become involved while these claims were unsettled,* and which, once cancelled, cleared away all legal obstructions to comprehensive plans of improvement.

The same year a survey of the harbor was made by Lieutenant Colonel John Anderson, of the United States Topographical Engineers; and in 1829, Congress appropriated \$30,000 for the purpose of constructing a breakwater, which it was believed would materially deepen the water on the bar and improve the harbor. The work was commenced the same year, but it was found that an additional appropriation would be required, and the work was not completed until 1831, and unfortunately did not prove of so much benefit as was anticipated. This structure was nineteen hundred feet long, bearing north-west across the mouth of Plum Island river. It was allowed to go to decay; nearly the last remains of it being dispersed in the gale of 1851.

In 1832, the Police Court was established in Newburyport. In 1852, (when the city charter was granted,) the existence of the Police Court was confirmed, and an additional act passed for its "better establishment."

The whaling business at one time promised to become a permanent interest of Newburyport. In 1833, three ships, the Merrimac, Navy, and Adeline, were engaged in the business, employing a hundred men or more; and the next year, another ship was added to the little fleet. The first efforts of the several whaling companies were successful, but some temporary discouragements arising, the enterprise was abandoned, and the fortunes which were finally

* In 1826, the proprietors endeavored to eject the town from the Market House, claiming the land on which it stood.

made in the whale fishery, went to build up the prosperity of other towns.

The fur seal fishery was also prosecuted by citizens of Newburyport for some years; but that has also been abandoned.

The principal manufactures and mechanical employments followed during this period, in addition to those dependent on the shipping interest, such as rope-making, which in 1825 produced cordage to the amount of \$70,000 annually; there might be enumerated, tanning, morocco-dressing, to the amount of 10,000 skins annually, wool-pulling, the manufacture of gold and silver articles, particularly beads, thimbles, and silver spoons; these latter were produced to the amount of from \$40,000 to \$50,000 annually. The hat business employed a capital of \$17,000, ten manufacturers being engaged in the production of fur and plated hats; while combs to the value of \$188,000 were annually produced. Chairs* were made in large quantities, while hoisery, yarn, cotton, batting, lace, and other manual and mechanical products, gave variety to the interests concentrated here. Printing and publishing were also more extensively carried on than since modern facilities for travelling have brought us within two hours' reach of the metropolis. Chaises, to the number of one hundred per annum, were made for many years.

In 1834, there were twenty-eight ships, twenty-six brigs, one hundred and forty-five schooners, four barques, and four sloops, in the District of Newburyport, and nearly all owned here.

Two hundred years had rolled away since "Newbury was allowed to be a plantation;" her "twenty-three freemen" had grown to many thousands; two new towns had been taken from her territory (Newburyport and West Newbury;) and as the descendants of those early pioneers exulted in the present blessings of spiritual and civil freedom, and saw themselves surrounded with every source of prosperity and happiness which usually falls to the lot of humanity, their hearts swelled with gratitude to those who had

* Of chairs there were made about two hundred per day, not painted. The comb factory employed from thirty to forty hands. Manufacture of tobacco about twenty hands.

broken the wilderness and tamed the ruggedness of nature, that their children might be reared in a pure faith on a free soil.

As the Second Centennial Anniversary* of the settlement of Newbury drew near, the feeling arose spontaneously and simultaneously, in the hearts of the people, to celebrate, by appropriate ceremonies, an event so important and interesting. Citizens of Newburyport met for consultation, and appointed the 26th of May for a public celebration, inviting Newbury and West Newbury to participate.

A spacious pavilion was erected, on rising ground, near the Newbury Town House, (now the Brown High School building,) and extensive preparations were made for the reception of friends from abroad, as well as the citizens generally.

At sunrise on the appointed day a salute of twenty-four guns was fired. At ten o'clock a procession was formed at the Newbury Town House, which was escorted by the Boston Brigade Band, Newburyport Artillery Company, and Byfield Rifle Company. After marching through the principal streets, they repaired to the Pleasant Street Church, where an address was delivered by Hon. Caleb Cushing. An ode and a hymn, written for the occasion by Hon. George Lunt, of Boston, were sung, and on the conclusion of the exercises at the church, the company retired to the pavilion, where dinner was provided for seven hundred persons. Among the participants in the celebration was Lieut. Gov. Armstrong, Hon. Messrs. Edward Everett, Phillips, Cushing and Lunt, Colonel Winthrop, (a lineal descendant of Governor Winthrop,) and Col. Swett, of Boston, Col. S. L. Knapp, Judge White of Salem, Gov. William Plummer of New Hampshire, the Hon. Levi Cutter, Mayor of Portland, Nehemiah Cleveland, Preceptor of Dummer Academy, with other distinguished men. The speeches and sentiments following the dinner were of a high order; many interesting reminiscences of the olden times carried back the mind of the listener, through intervening centuries, till they rested on that prolific source of all which they had met to commemorate, — the little company in the Mayflower, which, under a guiding Providence, had founded the State, under whose broad ægis they were then assembled. Every

* The First Centennial Anniversary was celebrated on the premises of Col. Joseph Coffin, an ancestor of Joshua Coffin, Esq., of Newbury.

heart beat responsive to the words of the poet of the day, as expressed in his psalm to the heroes of

THE MAYFLOWER.

"Sweet as the honored name
Their storm-tossed shallop bore;
The memory of our fathers' fame,
And green for evermore.

Peace to their hallowed graves,
That consecrate the ground,
Where first a refuge from the waves
Their pilgrim footsteps found.

What mortal sighs and tears
Swelled on that wintry sod!
How cast they all their cares and fears,
And every hope on God!

And wild as winds, that sweep
Along the savage shore,
Rose thoughts of homes beyond the deep,
Their pleasant homes no more.

But grander visions greet
Their prophet-lighted eyes,
They trod the world beneath their feet,
And marched to join the skies.

Triumphant over earth,
Faith, that their spirits fed,
Beamed, like a gem of priceless worth,
On each uplifted head.

No flaming sign they sought
To light their venturous road,
They owned the unseen Hand that wrought,
And in His strength abode.

But to their soul's desire, —
Though dark to mortal view, —
The daily cloud and mighty fire
Shone, clear as Jacob knew.

Vain doubt, and fear, and care,
The desert and the flood, —
They knew the God they served was there,
And in His name they stood.

Thoughts more than human great,
Came to their spirits' call;
And thus they built the stable STATE,
In Him their hope, their all.

And far as rolls the swell
Of Time's returnless sea,
Where empires rise and nations dwell,
Their pilgrim fame shall be!"*

So unwilling was the company to break off the renewed intercourse with long separated friends, which this celebration had called together, that those in the pavilion did not disperse until the last rays of the setting sun warned them of the absolute necessity of bringing their festivities to a close.

In the evening the ladies of the town gave a tea-party at Washington Hall, the walls of which were covered with paintings, engravings, mirrors, and flowers, giving to it an exceedingly animated and pleasing appearance; some ancient furniture was also procured, and to make the illusion as complete as possible, some young ladies occupied the antique chairs, arrayed in the costumes of a hundred and fifty years ago. Among the paintings of interest exhibited, was a portrait of Colonel Moses Titcomb, who fell at the battle of Lake George, in 1775; and relics of Captain Stephen Greenleaf, who was shot by a party of Indians in 1695.†

One of the permanent results of this celebration was the formation of a "Society for the Relief of Aged Females." The ladies who procured subscriptions for getting up the tea-party, having a small surplus above expenses, decided to make it the nucleus of a fund for assisting aged females in depressed circumstances; and the formation of the above society was the result of that determination. In 1839 Mr. William Gordan, a native of Norway, resident in Newburyport, bequeathed the society nine hundred dollars, the whole of his estate. Subsequent bequests have added to its permanent fund. The first of May (1854) was observed as a "May-day festival" for the benefit of this society, when nearly eight hundred dollars were added to its treasury.

* "Lyric Poems," by Hon. George Lunt, 1854.

† See page 41.

PERIOD VI.

RESUSCITATION, ANNEXATION, CITY CHARTER.

The revival of enterprise in Newburyport, its increase in population, and the gradual breaking up of the stereotyped complaints, that "Newburyport plans were especially distasteful to Providence," are mainly attributable to the introduction of the cotton manufacture, though the first established mill (the "Essex," in 1834,) failed to bring heavy dividends to the first stockholders. But since the erection of the Bartlett Mills, in 1838, followed in quick succession by the James, Globe, and Ocean, a new impetus was given to the whole business of the town, which gradually began to change its outward appearance, with the influx of a large floating population. State street, the principal rendezvous of the dry goods merchants, doffed its old exterior of small windows, carefully curtained, lest the sun or customers should see the goods intended for sale, and in their place appeared large plate glass, granite fronts, and a liberal display of colors, in cheerful contrast to the old secretive style of doing business.

The addition of several hundred to the population in so short a time, tended to modify the exclusiveness of old established castes in society, which forty years of comparative inertia had produced, and strangers received a readier admission to guarded circles, as they became more numerous. Business was also revived. The fifteen hundred added to the manufacturing population are all consumers, and brought in their train an increase of retail traders; while other concurring events favored that elasticity of the public mind which opens the way to public improvements and municipal prosperity. Among these was the distribution of the surplus

revenue, the opening of the Eastern Railroad to Newburyport, the change in regard to public sentiment on female education, the temperance reformation, the maturity of the Putnam School fund, the opening of the Magnetic Telegraph line, the Newburyport Railroad, &c.

The Washingtonian temperance movement commenced in the winter of 1841, and the "Washington Total Abstinence Society" was formed in May of that year. A general interest on the subject pervaded the community; during the first six months of the existence of the society, over eight hundred dollars were paid into the treasury, and the number of shops where spirituous liquors were sold was reduced from eighty to twenty, in less than one year, by moral means alone. A female temperance society was formed in June, called the Martha Washington Society, members of which circulated a "pledge against all that would intoxicate" through the town, and obtained in a few weeks eleven hundred signatures, raising also the sum of two hundred and eighty-two dollars the first year of their efforts. Part of the funds raised by these temperance societies, with large quantities of clothing, was appropriated to the relief of families who had been reduced to poverty by the intemperance of their natural protectors.

Four years later a division of the Sons of Temperance was formed in the town, the "Merrimac Division, No. 11." Its object being to connect the usual objects of temperance societies with a system of benefits to members in case of sickness, or of death in their families. It is to some extent a secret society.

In 1836, the national treasury of the United States was overflowing. The revenue for some years past had so largely exceeded the expenses, that it was resolved to relieve the treasury by distributing a portion of the fund thus accumulated to the several States, and on the 1st of January, 1837, \$36,000,000 was thus disposed of, each State receiving a sum proportioned to their electoral representation; and to Massachusetts the sum of \$1,784,231 was awarded. This the State distributed to the several cities and towns, by a rule of division which gave to Newburyport nearly \$15,000. The disposal of this money was a stock subject of discussion in the town meetings, for some six years, before its appropriation was finally agreed upon.

On the 10th of July, 1887, the town voted "*not to receive their portion of the surplus revenue;*" but on the 31st of the same month, they reconsidered that determination, concluded to accept it, and appointed Mr. Moses Merrill as the agent to receive it. On the 27th of September it was voted "to loan the money just received, to the Commonwealth, at five per cent. interest, and apply the income to the payment of the poll taxes." This vote was partially carried into effect, and the town treasurer received the certificate of the Commonwealth for the sum, which was exactly \$14,843. The next proposition was to recall the money and distribute it *per capita*; but this was believed by many to involve insuperable difficulties, and its legality was at once questioned; neither did it meet the approbation of the majority of the town, who desired to see it applied to some permanent and public use. A vote was however procured at a meeting held on the 15th of November, 1888, to recall the money from the hands of the State Treasurer, to whom it had been committed, and to make the proposed distribution, "each individual to give his receipt to the town for the same." Before this could be carried into execution, some citizens, opposed to the measure, applied for an injunction, which was granted by the Supreme Judicial Court, which effectually restrained the execution of the vote of November 15th.

At a meeting held December 24th, all preceding votes were reconsidered, and the town treasurer was directed to procure legal advice on the subject. In the mean time, various propositions were made; such as to loan the money at a nominal rate of interest, to *all* the inhabitants who might apply for it, and a more reasonable one, to lend it at a low rate to such as could offer good security; neither of which propositions prevailed. In the spring of 1843, the agent holding the money (Mr. Merrill,) died, and the executors transferred it to the town treasury, and on the 1st of June it was finally appropriated as follows:

To the School Department,	\$5,000
To the Fire Department,	5,000
Balance, for repairs of highways and other property of the town.*	

A motion to reconsider this vote was lost, 177 to 91, and the

* Including a brick barn for the Poor Department.

selectmen were directed to "expend the money during the financial year, as soon as possible after the removal of the injunction could be obtained."

The injunction was procured on the ground that "the town had no right to appropriate the surplus revenue to any other purposes than such for which they might lawfully raise money in their corporate capacity;" and a distribution, or general and unsecured loan to individuals, was therefore accounted illegal.

During the winter of 1840, a public appeal was made for funds to complete the Bunker Hill Monument, and extensive arrangements were made to hold a fair at Quincy Hall, in Boston, to aid in the object. The appeal met with a very general response. A meeting was held at Market Hall, in this town, July 24th, and a committee of gentlemen and ladies was appointed to procure aid for the "fair," and in September, four hundred and fifty dollars in money and articles were contributed.

The late Miss Lucy Hooper, of Newburyport, wrote a poetical answer to the appeal, of which the following is an extract:

" We are coming! we are coming!
We have heard the thrilling call;
We are coming from the hill-side —
We are coming from the hall!

* * * * *

We are coming! we are coming!
High thoughts our bosoms fill;
One watchword wakens every heart —
The name of Bunker Hill!
There Freedom's fire was lighted,
And its flame was broad and high,
Till a wakened and a rescued land
Sent up its battle-cry!

' Old Massachusetts!' dost thou need,
To gem thy 'lordly crown,'
Aught richer than that battle-field,
Which tells of thy renown?
Home of the Pilgrim Sires, who crossed
The waste and trackless sea!
Was it not meet that on thy soil
The first brave strife should be?

Dear to thy children in thy home,
 Dear to thine exiles far,
 To Freedom's sons, in every age,
 It shines a beacon star!

* * * * *

We are coming! we are coming!
 That thy martyrs, brave and free,
 In the record of the future
 Shall e'er be linked with thee;
 That upon thy glory never
 One dimming shade may fall,
 We are coming from the hill-side—
 We are coming from the hall!"

In 1838, two female winter schools were established. In 1840, '41, and '42, several new school-houses were built, some of the schools, up to this time, having occupied hired buildings; and in March of 1842, the town voted to establish a Female High School, the building for which was erected in a central part of the town, at a cost of \$7,000. It was opened for the reception of pupils in December, 1843.

When the principal of the Brown Fund had increased to \$15,000, the income was applied to the enlargement and support of the Centre Male Grammar School, which was thereafter designated as the "Brown High School."

When the "Putnam Fund" came into use, the town voted a special committee to confer with the trustees on the subject of employing the funds in strict accordance with the intentions of the testator. The material point in question was, "whether Mr. Putnam designed, by his bequest, to include the instruction of females," and the numerous discussions of this mooted point were at last brought to a termination by a reference of the language in the will to the decision of the Supreme Court. It was decided that "youth" might include both sexes,—the position maintained by the trustees.

By the Annual Legislative Report for 1837, it appears that the valuation of Newburyport for this year was \$2,165,667.

The value of imports was \$68,885; the value of exports, \$61,698; the duty on imports was \$28,912; the gross revenue derived,

\$16,960.85; the expenses of collection, \$10,960.85, and the net revenue, \$6,513.29.

The receptacles for the dead, up to 1842, were the "old burying hills;" the one directly back of Frog pond, and the other lying a few rods to the south of it; the cemetery attached to the Belleville parish, where were buried the first deceased members of Queen Ann's chapel; the ground belonging to the first parish in Newbury, and a small graveyard attached to St. Paul's church, on High street.

The old burying hills had now become densely populated, and the ancient boundaries for the dead grew too narrow for the wants of the town. From the location of the first named, a thickly settled neighborhood was exposed, with every breeze from the west, to the air wafted over these acres of mouldering bones; and it became a question of some importance, how and where to enlarge the boundaries of the several graveyards, or whether it were better to consecrate new.

In accordance with the latter opinion, a company of gentlemen purchased a lot of land on the south-easterly side of the turnpike, which was covered with a fine growth of oak trees, and which was consecrated in the summer of 1842; the company having been incorporated as that of the "Oak Hill Cemetery Company."

The plan for laying out the grounds was well devised for forming a beautiful and appropriate home for the dead; and the neatness, beauty and taste of the enclosures, monuments and shrubbery, with the profusion of summer flowers which bloom within most of the lots, evince a refined and cultivated taste in the individual proprietors, which makes it compare favorably with larger and more celebrated cemeteries. An addition has recently been made to the land enclosed, and the whole now contains about seven acres; about half of which has been sold in lots varying in size and form, and nearly all are fenced and otherwise decorated.

The extension of the Eastern Railroad to Newburyport in 1840, infused new life into the place. The locale of its route through the town, gave rise to much animated discussion in the business meetings of that period. A route was very near being adopted, which would have carried the road through Frog pond on the westerly side

of the Court House; but this was happily overruled, leaving this beautiful little sheet of water* unpolluted by the smoke and ashes of the steam engine.

In April, the Directors of the Railroad purchased of the Directors of the Newburyport bridge, the right to erect on their piers, a suitable structure for the passage of their trains; for which right they paid eight thousand dollars, contracting at the same time, to "keep in repair and maintain in good condition forever, at their own cost and expense, every part of the bridge and structure, including the piers and abutments, excepting the first or lower floor," which the Directors of the Newburyport bridge agreed to keep in repair. The charter of the Eastern Railroad Company made it incumbent upon them, to construct a draw in the bridge, of thirty-eight feet in width at the channel of the river, and to change such location if the channel should alter. By a representation on the subject brought before the town by one of our enterprising ship-builders in 1845, an examination was had of the width of the draw, when it was found to be but thirty-six feet ten inches. A committee was appointed in behalf of the town, to bring the subject before the Legislature, which eventuated in the widening of the draw considerably beyond that at first required by the charter, so as to admit of the passage of the largest class of ships, which are built on the river, *above* the bridge.

Since the opening of the Eastern Railroad, the *comparative* amount of travel between the several towns on the route between Boston and Portsmouth is decidedly in favor of Newburyport. The first year that it was opened, there were 19,673 passengers; in 1847, the annual number had increased to 46,203, the increase of travel being more than that of any other town on the route. In 1850, after the opening of the Newburyport Railroad, which to some extent diverted the travel to the Boston and Maine Road, the three highest towns on the route stood thus: Newburyport 43,022, Salem 19,236, Portsmouth 17,640, leaving Newburyport far ahead of any other. These figures relate to single tickets, and do not include season tickets, which would vary the comparative result as regards Salem.

* The pond contains, by measurement, 3,700,000 gallons of water.

The Company have within the last year erected a new brick depot, at a cost, including the land adjoining, of \$30,000.

The magnetic telegraph was first used in Newburyport, on Christmas day, 1847, when the compliments of the season passed over the wires, between the Mayor of Boston, and the selectmen of the town.

A small company was raised here in 1847, to join the Massachusetts regiment ordered to Mexico. Of this regiment Caleb Cushing was appointed Colonel. Previous to his departure a number of ladies, desiring to present him with a memorial of their regard, subscribed some three hundred dollars for the purpose; when Colonel Cushing suggested that the sum raised should be appropriated to the more comfortable outfit of the troops placed under his command, declining to receive any more valuable token from his friends, than a plain gold ring. This suggestion was acquiesced in by the ladies, and a public presentation ceremony took place on the 9th of February, at Market Hall, a young lady presenting the ring with a brief address, which was happily and eloquently responded to by the recipient, the whole affair passing off with considerable eclat, and to the great satisfaction of all engaged in it.*

Captain Albert Pike, (formerly of Newburyport) of the Arkansas cavalry, distinguished himself in this war, particularly at Buena Vista; General Taylor making honorable mention of him, three times in his dispatches from that place. Captain Pike is now a practising lawyer at Little Rock, Arkansas, and was for some time editor of a Whig paper there, but he is best known to the literary world as a poet, and as author of the "Prose Sketches." The New York Express says "his poetical description of the battle of Buena Vista gives the best and most intelligible description of the scene which has been published. We give a verse or two as a specimen of the life and spirit of the piece.

"From the Rio Grande's waters to the icy lakes of Maine,
Let all exult, for we have met the enemy again.
Beneath their stern old mountains, we have met them in their pride,
And rolled from Buena Vista back, the battle's bloody tide.

* * * * * * *

* Many ladies declined to unite in this demonstration, on account of their disapprobation of the war, which was not popular in Massachusetts.

Still suddenly the cannon roared, but died away at last,
 And o'er the dead and dying, came the evening shadows fast.
 And then above the mountains, rose the cold moon's silver shield,
 And patiently and pityingly, looked down upon the field.

* * * * *

And still our glorious banner waves, unstained by flight or shame,
 And the Mexicans among their hills, shall tremble at our name ;
 Do honor unto those that stood — disgrace to those that fled,
 And everlasting glory to the brave and gallant dead."

During the same season came over the water the cry of the famine-stricken millions of Ireland, and immediate measures were taken for raising money, provisions, &c., for their relief. At a meeting held at Market Hall on the 18th February, Hon. Henry W. Kinsman in the chair, a committee of fifteen was appointed to collect funds for the purpose, and the clergy were invited to call the attention of the people to the subject from their pulpits. Captain Micajah Lunt was appointed treasurer, and Messrs. John Wood and William Ashby, to receive donations of food or clothing. A few days after, a meeting of ladies was held in the vestry of the Temple street church to aid in the object. Committees of collection were appointed, who thoroughly canvassed the town, calling at almost every house and soliciting donations. The result of these efforts was, the collection of \$2,002.07, of which some \$400 were taken up in the churches. Over \$1000 were collected by the gentlemen's committee, and the remainder, between five and six hundred dollars, by the ladies, who also collected ten large cases of clothing, of the estimated value of five hundred dollars. The money was expended for corn, and, with the clothing, was shipped from Boston, being consigned to the "Friends' Irish Relief Association of Dublin."

The next year, in the fall and winter of 1848-9, the excitement consequent on the discovery of gold in California, produced similar effects here to what it wrought in other portions of the country. Probably a larger proportion of young men left Newburyport for the gold regions, than from many other towns of the same size, perhaps from the hereditary habit of emigration. Quite a number of vessels were put up here for the Pacific coast, while by far the larger proportion of adventurers from Newburyport sailed from Boston or New York.

The first vessel which left our wharves for California was the brig "Ark," and religious ceremonies were observed on the occasion of her departure, an address being made by the Rev. John Emerson, and prayers being offered in the presence of a large concourse of spectators assembled on the wharf. The effect of the gold *higera* on Newburyport has proved by no means beneficial. It not only carried off a large number of active and enterprising young men, most of whom carried all their property with them, but it unsettled the character of many who remained; their otherwise determined prospects and intentions being changed by this unexpected episode in the openings of business, they were induced to relax their energies in the occupations they were already engaged in, from the uncertainty of continuing in them. The damage in this respect,—the depreciation of business energy among those who remained,—was greater than the pecuniary value directly abstracted from the town. The majority of those who left Newburyport have not returned. Of those who have, none have added largely to the taxable property of the place. A few, and but a few, have more than made good their original draft on the town.

In November, 1850, some six months before the "Annexation Act" passed, there were in Newburyport 9,572 inhabitants, of which 1,362 were of foreign birth; 1,927 families, and 1,481 dwelling houses. One hundred and sixty-eight deaths had occurred during the year.

When the town of Newburyport was set off from Newbury, the dividing lines were very injudiciously drawn, leaving, as they did, on the river side, both to the north and south of Newburyport, and on the westerly side of High street, a population daily increasing, whose interests were all essentially united to those of Newburyport, but whom the act of incorporation assigned to Newbury. The consequence was, that successive attempts were made from that time until the object was attained, to have these portions annexed to Newburyport.

In May of the same year in which the town was incorporated, Newburyport voted a petition to the General Court to "have their limits and bounds enlarged." In 1794 a committee was appointed

to prepare a petition to the General Court "to enlarge the bounds of the town."

In 1821 the matter received a large share of attention, and was the occasion of long and earnest discussions in "town meeting;" but the advocates of enlargement could not harmonize on the exact boundaries to be desired; one party desiring the annexation of only the more southern and south-easterly part of the town, including the Plum Island turnpike, and the other wishing to include Belleville. The subject was dropped at this time, only to be taken up again in 1827, when a unanimous vote was given in favor of a petition, praying for the annexation of a part of Newbury, including "the ridge." But this also was barren of results. In January, 1835, the town accepted a report, drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose, recommending the *reunion* of Newbury with Newburyport. But at an adjourned meeting, this project, after a full discussion, was rejected.

At a town meeting held in January, 1838, it was voted to accept a certain portion of Newbury, which a committee appointed by the Legislature had indicated as proper to be annexed to Newburyport, "if it could be done without expense." And at a full meeting on the 21st of the same month, it was voted by a large majority to accept "that part of Newbury which had petitioned to be set off," unconditionally. But the union was not then effected.

In 1843, Ebenezer Wheelwright, Esq., of Newbury, and others, petitioned the Legislature to set off a part of Newbury, and annex it to Newburyport, and this town voted to accept the portion designated in his petition, if that was granted. But the division was not made, the consummation was not yet.

In 1846, a vote of the town was again obtained "to unite the towns, if Newbury should agree to do so," and otherwise, that it was expedient to annex the contiguous portions, "including the Ridge, Belleville, and Joppa, so called." And the Hon. Henry W. Kinsman, John Porter, Esq., and J. B. Swazey, Esq., were appointed a committee to appear before the "committee of the Legislature on towns," and urge forward the measure. This was the commencement of that last series of efforts which eventuated in the annexation to Newburyport of those portions of Newbury described in the act passed April 16th, 1851.

Other ineffective votes have at times been taken and reconsidered on this subject. To quote them all would be a tedious repetition.

A permanent cause of variance between the "water-side" people and the farmers of Newbury, might be found in the fact that the farmers were inclined to place a high tax on personal property, most of which was to be found in what is now Newburyport, while the "water-side people," who were still legally united to Newbury, were disposed to place the higher tax on land, which would bring the main burden on the farmers.

The experiment of steam on the Merrimac has been tried with but limited success.* The steamer Decatur, (1846,) ran some time as a regular packet between here and Boston; while the steamers Sarah, California, Merrimac, Ohio, Lawrence, C. B. Stevens, and Narragansett, ran transiently to Haverhill and intermediate places on the river, making also frequent excursions out to sea, to Plum Island, the Isles of Shoals, &c. Some of these boats did exceedingly well for a limited period, during the summer months, but profits could be very nearly graduated by the thermometrical scale. While the weather continued pleasant for excursions, an extensive patronage might be relied on; beyond that period, the preference for travel into the interior was by land carriage.

At the Annual March meeting in 1850, it was voted by the town, to erect a new Town Hall, "at a cost not exceeding thirty thousand dollars," and a committee was appointed to procure a suitable plan. The location of the Hall was decided by a very small majority, 116 voting in favor of its present site, and 108 against it. The plan for the Hall, draughted by Captain Frederic J. Coffin, was accepted, and

*Yet a permanent steam-tug, owned here and *always ready for use*, to bring vessels over the bar, with a railroad terminating at one of the wharves, (of which there is now a prospect,) could scarcely fail of remunerating the owners. It would take time to become profitable; but without some such arrangement, Newburyport cannot materially increase her commerce. It is the employment of steam which has enabled the merchants of New Orleans to overcome the natural obstacles to the entrance of that harbor; the "bar" at New Orleans, is intrinsically as bad as that of Newburyport, yet it has not been permitted to impede the growth of the place.

the corner-stone of the building was laid with appropriate ceremonies on the 4th of July next ensuing, and was opened to the public on the 4th of March, 1851.

The opening of the Newburyport Railroad, on which ground was first broken January 15th, 1849, was the attainment of a point, which has occupied, at intervals, the mind of the thinking part of the business men for half a century, only that the preceding generation had in mind a canal, while the present, more fortunate in their instruments, avail themselves of steam. The object to be attained, was direct intercourse with the interior; the beneficial results have exceeded the general anticipation, and require only to be extended to the water's edge, to transcend the expectations of the most sanguine.

The first week's travel (commencing May 23, 1850,) in which the road was opened to the public, there were but 526 passengers, the second week there were 679, the three months preceding January 1st, 1852, there were 15,440. Since the extension of the road to Bradford and Haverhill, uniting it with the Boston and Maine Road, the business has steadily increased, for both freight and passengers. Leave was granted by the Legislature of 1854 to extend this road to the water-side.

The Newburyport fishing fleet suffered severely in the terrible gale on the night of October 5th, 1851, at Prince Edward's Island; eighteen vessels being lost, and over twenty men. An unusually large fleet had been fitted out this year, and the greater destruction to vessels from this port, was ascribed to the fact that at the commencement of the storm, they were nearly all fishing in company, and near the shore; yet to one of this number, a native of Newburyport, is to be ascribed the preservation of many vessels and lives, during the storm. Captain Benjamin Small, of the new schooner "General Cushing," which was noted as the fastest sailer in the bay that year, at the imminent hazard of his own safety, ran into Cascumpec harbor, and placed a light upon the buoy, leaving two of his crew to tend it; then taking in tow the schooner Mary, of this port, a comparatively dull sailer, with this encumbrance ran ahead of most of the fleet and came safely to anchor. By this con-

siderate, prompt and noble conduct, many disasters were prevented, and many lives were probably saved ; as it was towards evening when the storm came on, and it was dangerous running into harbor without these lights, quite a number of vessels which otherwise would not have ventured to make the attempt, availed themselves of the signal thus timely arranged for them, and made a safe harbor.

The names of the vessels lost belonging to this port were the

Atlantic,	Blossom,
Enterprise,	Forrest,
Franklin,	Gentile,
H. Ingram,	Index,
Lucinda,	M. Scotchburn,
Ocean,	Spray,
Statesman,*	Traveller,*
Ruby,	Duroc,
Vulture,	Actor.*

The "Native American" lost one man, and with the "James," "Fulton," and others, was badly damaged ; others of our fishing fleet were subsequently lost the same season.

The list of fishing vessels from the District of Newburyport, this year, was officially given at 90 vessels, with a total of 6,012 tons and employing 985 men. The valuation of the vessels with their outfits was estimated at \$211,900.

MACKEREL INSPECTED IN NEWBURYPORT, FROM 1804 TO 1853.

	Barrels.		Barrels.
1804	20	1811	40
1805	1,600	1812	140
1806	120	1813	214
1807	76	1814	361
1808		1815	728
1809	20	1816	2,270
1810	57	1817	2,716

* These lost their entire crews ; the Statesman had ten men, the others six or eight.

	Barrels.		Barrels.
1818	6,301	1836	21,463
1819	15,138	1837	15,128
1820	11,231	1838	18,023
1821	12,117	1839	8,584
1822	16,166	1840	5,809
1823	13,797	1841	7,227
1824	17,479	1842	7,092
1825	23,848	1843	5,361
1826	19,110	1844	7,009
1827	21,881	1845	11,061
1828	26,390	1846	18,814
1829	22,193	1847	23,353
1830	26,196	1848	26,294
1831	36,000	1849	16,980
1832	21,164	1850	22,929
1833	19,873	1851	21,202
1834	27,778	1852	11,806
1835	22,291	1853	10,500

The expenses of the town for the five years preceding the act of annexation had averaged \$25,000 annually.

At the annual meeting in March, 1851, \$26,830.00 were appropriated as follows:

For support of schools, including interest on the Brown fund and State School fund,	-	\$9,200.00
Repairs of Highways,	- - - - -	800.00
Support of the Poor,	- - - - -	6,500.00
Expenses of Fire Department,	- - - - -	1,200.00
Services, Sextons and Constables,	- - - - -	200.00
Assessors,	- - - - -	200.00
Overseers of Poor,	- - - - -	150.00
Treasurer and Collector,	- - - - -	300.00
Incidental expenses, including Town Watch,	-	2,300.00
Interest on Town Debt,	- - - - -	3,300.00
Building Culverts,	- - - - -	200.00
Paying heirs of late Perley Tenny, for land taken for extension of Fair street,	- -	80.00
Celebrating Fourth of July next,	- - -	600.00
Discount on Taxes,	- - - - -	1,500.00
Abatement on Taxes,	- - - - -	800.00
		<hr/>
		\$26,830.00

At a meeting held in April, the following additional sums were voted, in view of the increased expenses which would attend on the annexation of part of Newbury, viz.:

Added for support of Schools,	-	-	-	\$2,800.00
Added for support of Poor,	-	-	-	2,000.00
Fire Department, including pay of Engineer,	-			250.00
Highways,	-	-	-	1,000.00
Incidentals,	-	-	-	450.00
				<hr/>
				\$6,000.00

Making a total of \$82,000.

The following is a copy of the Act of Annexation:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS:

IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND FIFTY-ONE.

An Act to Annex a part of the town of Newbury to the town of Newburyport.

Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

SECTION 1. So much of the town of Newbury, in the County of Essex, as lies within the following named lines, to wit: beginning at the northerly boundary of Newburyport, on the Merrimac river, thence running by the Newbury line in the said river to the line of West Newbury, at the mouth of Artichoke river, thence up the said last named river, and through the middle thereof about five hundred and seventy-two rods and twenty-two links, to a place on the said stream known as the "New Log," thence south twenty-five degrees, east about three hundred and sixty rods to the most easterly corner of West Newbury, thence in a direct line north-easterly to the westerly corner of Newburyport, thence by the line of Newburyport to the southerly side of a stream called Little River, thence by the southerly side of the said last mentioned stream to the south-easterly side of the road at Clark's bridge, so called, thence on a straight line to an elm tree, near the Newburyport turnpike, on land of Daniel Coleman, southerly of said Coleman's house, thence to the northerly side of Marlborough street, on High

street, thence to the most southerly bend of the Plum Island turnpike, thence on a straight line to the ocean, four rods southerly of the light-keeper's house on Plum Island, thence by the ocean to Salisbury line, thence by the line of Salisbury to Newburyport, with all the inhabitants and estates thereon, is hereby set off from the town of Newbury and annexed to the town of Newburyport; and the said inhabitants shall hereafter be considered inhabitants of Newburyport, and shall enjoy all the rights and privileges, and be subject to all the duties and liabilities of the inhabitants of the said town. Provided, however, that for the purpose of electing the Representatives to the General Court, to which the said town of Newbury is entitled until the next decennial census shall be taken, in pursuance of the thirteenth article of amendments to the Constitution, the said territory shall remain and continue to be a part of the town of Newbury, and the inhabitants resident therein, shall be entitled to vote in the choice of such Representatives, and shall be eligible to the office of Representative in the town of Newbury, in the same manner as if this act had not been passed.

SEC. 2. The said inhabitants and estates so set off shall be liable to pay all taxes that may have been legally assessed on them by the town of Newbury, in the same manner as if this act had not been passed, and the town of Newburyport shall be holden to pay their just and equitable [share] of the debts of Newbury, and shall also be entitled to receive their just and equitable portion of all the property owned by the town of Newbury, the said proportions to be ascertained by the taxes paid by the inhabitants, and upon the property assessed in the part set off and the part remaining the past year.

SEC. 3. The said towns of Newbury and Newburyport shall be respectively liable for the support of all persons who now do or shall hereafter stand in need of relief, as paupers, whose settlements were gained by or derived from a residence on their respective territories. Provided that nothing in this act shall affect any agreement heretofore made between the towns of Newbury and Newburyport for the support of paupers.

SEC. 4. In case the said towns shall not agree on a division of property, debts, paupers, and all other existing town liabilities, the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Essex, shall upon the

petition of either of the said towns, appoint three competent and disinterested persons to hear the parties and award thereon, and their award, accepted by the Court, shall be final. Provided, however, that until the division of the said property as aforesaid, the same shall be and remain under the control of the town of Newbury, and the inhabitants of Newbury may hold their town meetings in the town house as heretofore.

SEC. 5. The selectmen of Newburyport shall annually, fourteen days at least before the second Monday of November, furnish the selectmen of Newbury, a correct list, so far as may be ascertained from the records of the town of Newburyport, or any of its officers, of all persons resident on the territory hereby set off, who shall be entitled to vote for Representatives as aforesaid in Newbury; and for every neglect by the said selectmen, so to furnish such list, the town of Newburyport shall forfeit the sum of one hundred dollars; and for the making of any false return in respect to any part of such list, shall forfeit the sum of twenty dollars for every name in respect to which a false return shall have been made, to be recovered in the same manner as is provided by the fourth section of the third chapter of the Revised Statutes, in respect to penalties for neglect or false returns of collectors of towns.

SEC. 6. The said towns of Newbury and Newburyport may at town meetings, duly notified within seven days after the passage of this act, grant and vote such sums of money as they may respectively judge necessary, for all purposes authorized by law, and reconsider, modify and change any votes on that subject passed at their annual meeting the present year.

SEC. 7. This Act shall take effect from and after its passage.
House of Representatives.

April 16, 1851.

Passed to be enacted.

N. P. BANKS, JR., *Speaker.*

In Senate.

April 17, 1851.

Passed to be enacted.

HENRY WILSON, *President.*

April 17, 1851.

Approved.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

That the annexation of so large a portion of Newbury, was not quite palatable to all the inhabitants of that ancient town, we may infer from the following notice, which appeared in the Daily Herald of May 6th, 1851.

"The Annual Town meeting of *what is left of Newbury*, stands adjourned to Monday, May 12th, 2 P. M., at the Town House, *now in Newburyport*.

"JOSHUA COFFIN, Town Clerk."

The said "town house," has within a few months been fitted up for the reception of the Brown High School, and is so improved by paint, green blinds, a steeple and ornamental work, as to present quite an attractive object to travellers on the turnpike ; so completely metamorphosed is the building, that the sight of it will scarcely recall any future regretful associations in the minds of our neighbors of Newbury, for nothing but its location can remind them of the use to which it was devoted when in their hands.

By the Act of Annexation the territory of Newburyport was increased from the little patch of six hundred and forty-seven acres to between six and seven thousand ; leaving Newbury, however, nearly or quite twice as much land, but only about eighteen hundred inhabitants. It took about two-thirds of her population and property, bringing the population of Newburyport from 9,584 up to 12,866, (1852;) extending its water front from the chain bridge ("Essex Merrimac") on the north, to Plum Bush bridge on the Plum Island turnpike to the south, and on High street from the chain bridge to Marlborough street, and taking in a considerable agricultural district on the west and north-west, and including within its limits the light-houses on Plum Island, but leaving the hotel still in Newbury, the dividing line which is run straight from the corner of Marlborough street to the ocean, striking the island on the north side of the Plum Island hotel.

At the first town meeting held after the passage of the annexation act, (April 24th,) the Moderator, Hon. Henry W. Kinsman, in a few brief and happy remarks, welcomed the new citizens to a participation in the public affairs of the town, most of whom had long been socially united with it ; to which address Moses Pettingell, Esq., replied on behalf of the newly admitted citizens. At the

same meeting, it was voted to apply for a city charter, and a committee, consisting of Hon. Caleb Cushing, Hon. Henry W. Kinsman, Messrs. Joseph Roberts, E. S. Williams, Joshua Hale, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Huse, E. F. Stone, Henry Frothingham and Moses Davenport, were chosen to present the petition, which was granted without delay, the act of incorporation being dated on the ensuing 24th of May.

By this charter, it was provided (Sec. 8,) that the selectmen should, as soon as might be after the passage of the act, and its acceptance by the people, proceed to divide the city into six wards; the wards to contain, as nearly as practicable, an equal number of inhabitants, the same to be subject to revisal once in five years.

The second Monday of December is appointed (Sec. 6,) for the election of city officers; the mayor to receive no compensation for his services, (Sec. 7.) All the powers formerly vested in the selectmen, devolve on the mayor and aldermen; particularly are they required to comply with the duties of the selectmen, as prescribed in the fifth section of the Act of Annexation, which obliges them to furnish Newbury with a list of all the persons in the territory then annexed, who are entitled to vote for Representatives. The custody of all trust funds, hitherto in the care of the selectmen, is also confided to them. The sittings of the Board of Aldermen and Common Council are made public, except when engaged in executive business. To the City Council is especially committed the care of the city treasury; "to see that no money is drawn unless legally appropriated," having also the general care and management of the city property; concerning all of which, they are to publish an annual account for the use of the inhabitants, (Sec. 8.) Section 9 provides that no person shall be eligible to any office the emoluments of which are paid out of the city treasury, while a member of the Board of Aldermen or Common Council. Section 12 confirms the act of 1880, establishing the fire department of Newburyport. Section 18 provides that the name of every person voted for, for County, State, and United States officer, shall be written out at length in the several Ward Records, with the number of votes cast for each.

General meetings of the citizens may still be held "to obtain

redress of grievances, consult upon the public good, and to give instructions to their Representatives," (Sec. 20.) Any breach of a by-law of the city may be prosecuted before the Police Court, the decision of the Court being subject to appeal to the Court of Common Pleas, (Sec. 22.) By Section 26, the Legislature reserved to themselves the right to alter or amend the charter whenever they deemed it expedient.

For the purpose of organizing the City Government, and putting it in operation, in the first instance, the 23d section of the Act directed "that the selectmen then in office, should, within thirty days after its acceptance by the people, issue their warrants for calling meetings of the citizens, for the purpose of choosing, in the several wards, the officers necessary to its complete organization," and by providing that at these primary meetings, "any legal voter might call the citizens to order until a warden was chosen."

All records, papers, and muniments of property in the hands of town officers were (Sec. 24,) directed to be transferred by them to the City Clerk.

On Tuesday, June 3, 1851, the inhabitants gave in their votes on the acceptance of the city charter. The whole number of votes cast was 594: in favor of the charter, 484; against it, 110. A clear majority in its favor of 374.

At the election for city officers, held immediately after, the following persons were chosen:

MAYOR, — Honorable Caleb Cushing.

ALDERMEN:

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Ward 1. — Thomas Huse. | Ward 4. — Nathaniel Horton. |
| 2. — John Porter. | 5. — John M. Cooper. |
| 3. — Moses Davenport. | 6. — Joseph Roberts. |

COMMON COUNCIL:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Ward 1. — Zaccheus P. Thurlo, | Ward 3. — Isaac H. Boardman, |
| John Woodwell, | Charles J. Brockway |
| George W. Knight. | Moses Hale. |
| Ward 2. — Phillip Johnson, | Ward 4. — Phillip K. Hill, |
| Frederic Knight, | William C. Balch, |
| Jacob Stone. | Eben F. Stone. |

Ward 5. — Albert Russell,
Jacob Horton,
Jacob Hale.

Ward 6. — John Currier,
John Colby,
Joseph Newell.

In the First Ward there were 2,158 inhabitants; in the Second, 2,173; in the Third, 2,187; in the Fourth, 1,946; in the Fifth, 2,284; in the Sixth, 2,228.

According to the ward lists, there were 1,980 voters, of whom 892 lived north of State street, and 888 south of it.

There were (1851) 113 persons in the Almshouse, Newburyport taking, with the portion of territory annexed, about two-thirds of the poor of Newbury.

The City Government was regularly organized on the 24th of June, at the City Hall, in the presence of some three or four hundred spectators. Nathaniel Horton, Esq., the chairman of the late Board of Selectmen, stated the object of the meeting. Prayer was offered by the Reverend B. I. Lane. The oath was administered to the Mayor elect by J. Cook, Esq. The Mayor then administered the oath to the Aldermen and Common Council, and afterwards addressed both bodies in a brief but appropriate speech. The Aldermen were organized by the election of Eleazer Johnson, Esq., as City Clerk; and the Common Council, by the choice of Eben F. Stone as President, and Edward Burrill, Esq., Clerk; and, on joint ballot, Jonathan Coolidge, Esq., was chosen Treasurer and Collector.

Among the ordinances passed by the new City Government were the following:

AN ORDINANCE (No. 14)

To Establish the City Arms and Seal.

Be it ordained, &c., as follows:

SECTION 1. The Arms of the City shall be the following, to wit: Quarterly, first, two light-houses, in the distance a ship under full sail; second, a steam-mill; third, a ship on the stocks; and fourth, (the seal of Newbury, in England,*) on a mount three domed

* Newbury, in England, is a large market town in the hundreds* of Faircross, on the banks of the river Kennet, near the road from London to Bath, and fifty-six miles from Hyde Park corner. It was incorporated in 1586 by

* The "hundreds" in English law, is that part of a shire or county consisting of ten tithings, or ten times ten households.

towers, on each a pennon, crest, a mural coronet surmounted by two hands conjoined; supporters, two female figures, that on the dexter side representing America, that on the sinister, Massachusetts; scroll, *Terra Marique*.

SEC. 2. The seal of the city shall bear as a device, the shield, crest, and scroll of the arms of the city, with the legend "City of Newburyport, A. D. MDCCCLI".



The expenses of the city for the first year of its existence, reckoning from March 1st, 1851, to March 1st, 1852, was \$41,459.58, including \$1,474.31 for furnishing the new City Hall, and \$984.30 for the celebration of the 4th of July.

Queen Elizabeth, who had visited it the year before. Two battles were fought near this town between Charles I and the Parliamentary troops in 1643-4. At the time of taking the Norman survey, 1086, it was a town of considerable consequence, and bore the Saxon name of Uluritone, which was probably a corruption of Ulwardetone, from Ulward, who possessed it in the reign of Edward the Confessor. The name was changed to Newbury by the Earls of Perch, who built a castle there which they called Newbury, about the close of the twelfth century; and the town was thereafter called by the name of the castle. In 1216, Thomas, the Earl of Perch, died, and the Bishop of Chalons, a Norman, became his heir, and he sold the manor of Newbury to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. Uluritone had once belonged to an ancestor of the Bishop's before it passed into the hands of the Perches; this ancestor was Ernulfus de Hesden, also a Norman, who probably received it direct from William the Conqueror, as in Domesday book it is recorded as belonging to him. There were then in it fifty-one houses, which paid a quit-rent to the feudal lord.

The present SCHOOL DEPARTMENT embraces *twenty-seven* schools, taught by *thirty-eight* teachers,—seven males and thirty-one females,—and consists of the Brown High School, having a male principal and female assistant; the Female High School, having a male principal and two female assistants; five male grammar schools, two of which have female assistants; five female grammar schools, taught by female teachers, as are all the primary schools, of which there are five male, five female, and four for both sexes. There is also a school centrally situated, styled “intermediate,” for boys of a somewhat higher grade than primary, but not ranking with the grammar; this has also a female teacher.

The estimates for the school department for the year 1854 are \$12,000. The number of children and youth in the schools at the close of the year 1853, was 1,865.

The assessors’ valuation, for 1853, was \$5,655,000; real estate, \$2,780,000; personal property, \$2,875,000. The State tax was \$2,787; County tax, \$5,227.76.

THE PUTNAM FREE SCHOOL

Was founded by the will* of the late Oliver Putnam, a merchant of Newburyport, who “devised the residue of all his property,” after making provision for his nearest relatives, “for the establishment and support of a free English school in Newburyport,” his native place. The principal was to accumulate until it amounted to \$50,000, when it was to be invested by the trustees as a permanent fund, only the interest on which was to be used for the establishment and support of the school. In 1847–8, the building for the school was erected, and William W. Wells, A. M., late instructor in Phillips Academy, Andover, was engaged as principal, with two assistants. By a provision in the will of Mr. Putnam, “instruction in the dead languages” is forbidden; but a thorough mathematical and scientific course, with the study of the French language is secured. This legacy was left in no contracted spirit; its benefits are extended as freely to the natives of other towns as

* Hon. S. Rand and Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport, and Mr. Aaron Baldwin, of Boston, were named executors.

to this, and many of the students belong to other towns, and other States.

The school, which was opened April 12th, 1848, is well supplied with philosophical apparatus, and every facility for the experimental study of natural philosophy and chemistry. The number of scholars is about 120, including both sexes.

THE NEWBURYPORT FIRE DEPARTMENT

Was established by an act of the Legislature in 1830, and consists of a Chief Engineer and six assistants; having in charge (1854,) eight engines and one hook and ladder company. The whole force of the Department averages about four hundred men. The late Dr. Eben Hale, of this city, gave (October 24, 1846,) one hundred dollars as a permanent fund to the Fire Department, to which Philip Johnson, Esq., added fifty dollars, (April 21, 1852,) and the Newburyport Mutual Fire Insurance Company added one hundred dollars in June of the same year.

There are fourteen reservoirs in the city, with hydrants at suitable places for the extinguishment of fires; part of these reservoirs are filled with water, led by pipes from Frog pond; they contain from one to two hundred hogsheads each.

Gas was introduced into the city in 1852, the Newburyport Gas Company being incorporated in September of that year. Pipes are now laid through the following streets: Water, Merrimac, Liberty, State, Pleasant, Harris, Washington, Congress, Kent, Strong, Park, High, — some four miles in all. The City Hall, six cotton mills, and about two hundred stores and dwellings are now lighted by gas.*

In January, 1854, this company made their second semiannual dividend of three per cent. for the year passed, having during that time also expended in street drains, and service pipes, some four per cent. from their earnings.

* No longer ago than 1827, the editor of the Newburyport Herald wrote as follows: "In New York, many buildings are lighted by means of pipes, with the flame produced from the oleaginous gas, procured from a distillation of pit-coal. The gas is set on fire as it escapes from the orifice of an aperture, not more than one-thirtieth of an inch in diameter, and burns till the gas is consumed!!"

Though perhaps a greater number of societies and associations, benevolent and religious, exist in Newburyport now than at any former period, yet some have been suffered to die out, which were better calculated to influence character, than any later substitutes. Of this class are the Debating Societies and Library Associations. The Newburyport Debating Society was instituted in 1821, and continued to flourish for a number of years.

At the same time, there was in existence the Athenæum, and the Franklin Library Association, the former instituted in 1810 and the latter in 1812; both continued for many years, but both are now extinct, the books in the Athenæum being sold at auction in 1849. In the list of incorporated and other societies, will be found a long array of fossil literary associations.

The *Newburyport Lyceum* succeeded to some of these, but the exercise of listening is far behind active participation in the stimulus of thought, and the growth of intellect; and is a very inefficient substitute for well-directed debating societies, or well-selected and well-read libraries.

The Lyceum was instituted in the winter of 1829-30. The lectures were first given at the Town Hall, until Market Hall was fitted up for the use of the Society: and so popular did they become, that for a while two courses of lectures were sustained, the meetings of the second association, designated Institute, being held in Academy or Lyceum Hall, on High street; (the building has since been altered into a private dwelling;) and subsequently it became necessary to dispose of the tickets of admission by a species of lottery, no hall in the town being large enough to accommodate the numbers who wished to attend, until the present City Hall was built.

Two abortive attempts have been made within a few years to establish a public library in this city, but the foundation stone for this goodly enterprise is yet to be laid; and the honor of founding such an institute is still in reserve for some liberal soul, who may thus indelibly impress his name on the memory, and inspire gratitude in the hearts of the present or future generations in Newburyport.

There have been at different periods, thirty-four periodical publications issued in Newburyport. Here was established in 1832, the first daily paper in the county; and the city in 1858 supported two

dailies, the second established in 1849, no other city or town in the county, not even Salem or Lynn, yet (April, 1854,) boasting a daily paper. The following is believed to be a correct list of the papers and other periodicals printed here since 1773 :

<i>Essex Journal and New Hampshire Packet</i> , (Republican,) by Thomas & Tinges, Ezra Lunt, John Mycall and others ; first published December 4th,	1773
<i>Impartial Herald</i> , (Fed.) Blunt & March,	1798
<i>Morning Star</i> , Tucker & Robinson,	• 1794
<i>Political Gazette</i> , Barret & Farley,	1796
<i>Merrimac Gazette</i> , Caleb Cross,	1808
<i>Repertory</i> , (Whig,) John Park, (transferred to Boston,)	1804
<i>Political Calender</i> , (Dem.) Caleb Cross,	1805
<i>Merrimack Magazine</i> , W. & J. Gilman,	1805
<i>Merrimack Miscellany</i> , (Lit.) William B. Allen,	1805
<i>Newburyport Gazette</i> , (Dem.) Benjamin Edes,	1806
<i>Statesman</i> , (Dem.) Joseph Gleason,	1809
<i>Independent Whig</i> , Nathaniel H. Wright,	1810
<i>Churchman's Repository</i> , (transferred to Boston,) James Morse, D.D., editor,	1820
<i>Northern Chronicle</i> , (Dem.) Herman Ladd,	1824
<i>Essex Courant</i> , (Neutral,) Isaac Knapp,	1825
<i>Free Press</i> , (Anti-Slavery,) William Lloyd Garrison,	1826
<i>Newburyport Advertiser</i> , Joseph H. Buckingham,	1830
<i>Daily Herald</i> , (Whig,) E. W. Allen & Son, (J. B. Morse associated in October,)	1832
<i>The Times</i> , (Dem.) Hiram Tozer & D. W. O'Brien,	1832
<i>Monthly Paper</i> , (Religious,) Hiram Tozer,	1833
<i>People's Advocate</i> , (Dem.) B. E. Hale,	1833
<i>Essex (North) Register</i> , (Relig.) Hiram Tozer,	1834
<i>Watchtower</i> , Hiram Tozer,	1837
<i>Merrimac Journal</i> , (Dem.) Hiram Tozer,	1842
<i>Newburyport Courier</i> , (Whig,) Clark & Whitten,	1844
<i>Newburyport Advertiser</i> , (Dem.) Huse, Bragdon & Co.	1845
<i>Daily Courier</i> , (Whig,) Whitten & Hale,	1846
<i>Essex County Constellation</i> , (Lit.) John S. Foster,	1846
<i>Watchtower</i> , (Relig.) H. A. Woodman,	1847
<i>Christian Herald</i> , Elijah Shaw & D. P. Pike,	1847

<i>Mirror and Casket</i> , (Lit.) Joseph Hunt,	1848
<i>Broadway Emporium</i> , (Adv.) Moses Sweetser,	1848
<i>Daily Evening Union</i> , (Dem. F. S.) and <i>Weekly Union</i> , Huse, Nason & Bragdon,	1849
<i>Herald of Gospel Liberty</i> , (Christian Bap. Association,) 1851	
<i>Saturday Evening Union</i> , (Lit.) W. H. Huse, publisher, Mrs. E. Vale Smith, editor,	1854

The first number of the "*Essex Journal, and Merrimack Packet : Or, the Massachusetts and New Hampshire General Advertiser*,"* which was the whole of its original title, was issued on the 4th of December, 1778. It was printed by Isaiah Thomas and Henry Walter Tinges, in King street, opposite the Rev. Jonathan Parsons's meeting-house. Mr. Thomas was the proprietor. The history of this indefatigable and most successful specimen of self-made men, is exceedingly interesting. He never was in a school as a pupil. At six years of age he was apprenticed to a printer of ballads, in Boston, and by working at the trade, and by his own efforts, learned to read, and afterwards taught himself to write; and with these meagre advantages for learning, at the age of seventeen he established and took sole charge of a paper in the British Provinces; where, however, his republican principles were not relished, and he left. In 1778, he commenced the paper alluded to, in Newburyport; since which time, the town has never been without one or more newspapers. Within a year, Mr. Thomas sold out his share in the paper to Mr. (afterwards Captain) Ezra Lunt, who, two years later, transferred it to Mr. John Mycall, in whose hands it remained for many years, the title undergoing various alterations. Mr. Tinges withdrew about six months after Mr. Mycall became principal proprietor. Mr. Thomas was afterwards connected with the Massachusetts Spy; and after having expended large sums in benevolent and literary enterprises, — having lived an eventful and useful life, — this unaided and unschooled boy became the projector and sustainer of that invaluable association, the American Antiquarian Society. An author of reputation, and a public benefactor of the State, he left in legacies, a fortune of some fifty thousand dollars, besides donating to Harvard College and other literary institutions, books, and other benefices, to a very

* History of Printing in America, vol. 2.

considerable amount. The bulk of his property went to the Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Such was the father of newspaper printing in Newburyport.

While in the hands of Messrs. Tinges & Lunt, Mr. Thomas, who had removed to Boston, furnished the foreign news for the Journal. On the breaking out of the Revolution, Mr. Lunt joined the Continental army, and Mr. Tinges and Mr. John Mycall continued the publication of the paper until, in 1776, the latter became sole proprietor and editor. The original subscription book of Mr. Mycall's contains 707 names distributed through the province of Maine, New Hampshire, and Essex north; but with no circulation south of Salem. The paper while in his hands was conducted with great ability.

The *Newburyport Herald*, which is the successor to the IMPARTIAL HERALD, has now been established over sixty years. The first printer and proprietor of the Impartial Herald was Mr. EDMUND BLUNT, author of the "Coast Pilot," now a veteran of over four-score years, but retaining all the vigor of intellect and business enterprise which distinguished him while a citizen of Newburyport. As an apprentice to Mr. John Mycall, then editor of the Essex Journal, Mr. Blunt remained here from the spring of 1788 to 1791, when, after an absence of three years in Boston, he returned to Newburyport and commenced the publication of the Impartial Herald,* with but seventy subscribers, which he surrendered at the end of two years with seven hundred. He now commenced writing the "American Coast Pilot," and printed several editions here, amounting to 20,000 copies, employing in his printing office and bindery,† from twelve to twenty men and boys.

Mr. Blunt having succeeded so well with his Coast Pilot, next published an edition of the Practical Navigator, founded on the work

* The press on which the Herald was first printed originally belonged to Benjamin Franklin, of whom Mr. Blunt bought it for forty dollars. It is now owned by Ben. Perley Poore, Esq., of West Newbury, and formed an interesting feature in the procession of the Fourth of July Celebration in Newburyport in 1852.

† The first bookbinder and bookseller in Newburyport was Bulkeley Emerson, who commenced the business in 1760. He had no competitors in the business of binding till 1775. He was also postmaster for many years.

of John Hamilton Moore. The first two editions did not run well, and in the third, Mr. Blunt introduced the name of N. Bowditch, who had previously made many corrections on the English work. Armed with this nautical authority, Mr. Blunt took a copy of his book to England, and sold it for two hundred guineas, *where it was republished under the title of "Kirby's Navigator."* He then returned to Newburyport and completed his American edition. While in this town, Mr. Blunt printed 25,000 copies of the Navigator, 15,000 copies of Walsh's Arithmetic, besides many other works, and an almost innumerable quantity of sermons, which it was so much the fashion in those days to print. He also first printed that "unimitated and inimitable" work of Lord Timothy Dexter,* "with whom," says Mr. Blunt in a letter addressed to the writer, under date of October 4, 1853, "in his own summer-house, on his coffin, decorated with decanters, &c., I have taken many a glass of wine, with a company of cavalry to which I then belonged."

Mr. Blunt removed from Newburyport in 1810, but left, in his building on State street, an unfinished edition of his Practical Navigator, the concluding sheets for which, were forwarded from New York, where he had taken up his residence. These were unfortunately consumed in the "great fire" of the next year.

Mr. Angier March was the next principal editor of the Herald until 1801. He was a violent Federalist. Other individuals had temporary charge of the paper, but the next permanent editor was E. W. Allen, Esq., who conducted it with marked ability for nearly thirty years. While enumerating the worthy men and good citizens who have contributed to give to Newburyport that best wealth of any community, its good name, it would be wrong to omit particular mention of EPHRAIM W. ALLEN. Mr. Allen, as the conductor of the "Newburyport Herald," was, for a third of a century, identified with the history of the town, sympathizing in its good and ill fortune, laboring to promote its interests, and anxious to acquit himself, not only as a faithful chronicler of the times, but as an earnest, efficient advocate of all such principles and measures as he believed to be conducive to the prosperity of the community to which he was bound by his interests and affections.

* "A Pickle for the Knowing Ones."

Mr. Allen was born in Attleborough, Bristol County, Massachusetts, April 9, 1779. His father, a substantial and respected farmer, served his country as an officer in the army, in the war of the Revolution. At the age of fourteen, the son was placed in the printing office of Thomas & Manning, in Boston, the senior of the firm being the celebrated Isaiah Thomas; and the junior, a printer and publisher who stood in high repute with the craft in the early part of the century. Among his fellow craftsmen and more intimate friends, were several young men who afterwards reached stations which brought them conspicuously and honorably before the public. Among these was the late Hon. Samuel T. Armstrong, who was, at one time, Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth. Having served out his time faithfully and well, young Allen went forth to seek opportunities of advancement in his profession, as well as the means of an independent support. Newburyport, then enjoying its fullest measure of commercial prosperity, was an attractive point to a young man just embarking in life, and hither he came in the year 1801. At that time, having nothing to rely upon beyond his knowledge of his art, and his own energies, he entered the office of the *Herald*, then owned by Edmund M. Blunt, as a journeyman printer. He remained in that situation but a very short time. Mr. Blunt being willing to sell his establishment, Mr. Allen purchased it in connection with Mr. Jeremy Stickney, a young man who afterwards became a well known supercargo and shipmaster of this port, and the paper was published in the name of Allen & Stickney. Mr. Stickney's health failing, his share of the paper was purchased by Mr. Barnard. The firm of Allen & Barnard was but of short duration, Mr. Barnard going out, and the whole establishment becoming the property of Mr. Allen.

Subsequently, Mr. Allen, having formed a partnership with his brother, William B. Allen, commenced the business of booksellers and publishers, under the name of William B. Allen & Co. This once widely known firm was extensively engaged in the publication of standard works, including editions of the Bible, theological, ecclesiastical, medical, and school books. The times were not then propitious for an undertaking of that nature in the locality selected by them, and on the scale on which it had been projected by these enterprising brothers, and the business was finally relinquished; but, owing to highly prudent management, without serious loss.

The energy, assiduity, and intelligence brought to this enterprise, had they been exerted under more favorable circumstances, could hardly have failed to secure those rich rewards which have so deservedly crowned the efforts of many of the more recent American publishers.

At the close of his bookselling operations, Mr. Allen repurchased the *Herald*, with which he had parted when he entered on his other engagements, and continued the publication of that paper to the year 1834.

In the days of his early career, Mr. Allen was the printer, the editor, and the carrier of his paper. In those times the communication with Boston was so slow, that not unfrequently, when important events were pending, Mr. Allen would prepare his paper for press on the day previous to its publication, and then proceed on horseback to Boston, return with what news was to be found there, put it in type, work off the sheets with his own hand, and then distribute them himself to his subscribers.

In the long period of thirty years, for the greater part of which he was at the head of a public journal, he so conducted the press under his control, as to secure the approbation and support of the community with which he was identified. Successive newspaper enterprises were set on foot with a view to the supplanting of his paper, all of which, however, failed, without seriously affecting the prosperity of the "old *Herald*;" opposition of this kind never disturbed him. He met it coolly and good-humoredly; for he felt himself too firmly anchored in the good-will of his fellow citizens to fear the consequences of such rivalry. His journal, in the hands of himself and judiciously chosen associates in the editorial department, in part moulding and in part reflecting the predominant sentiment of the community by which it was sustained,—never perversely bent on ignoring those permanent changes in public opinion, without deference to which no journal can ever be either successful or practically useful, but wisely conforming itself to those changes,—has always kept itself fairly "up with the times," while cautious of committing itself to the support of mere specious novelties. It is a journal with which, looking at its past history, and no less to its present excellent management, this community may feel, upon the whole, well satisfied. To-day, few journals in

our country, no matter what their pretensions or how wide their fame, contain more weighty matter than the well-considered editorials and salutary selections of the Newburyport Herald.

In 1827, Mr. Allen embarked in the fur seal fishery, and in company with other enterprising citizens, continued for some years to send vessels round Cape Horn, to cruise among the seal islands in the Pacific ocean. In 1834, Mr. Allen's connection with the Herald finally ceased. From that time forward, he busied himself in mercantile operations and the care of his property. In 1837, he visited Missouri, where he remained nearly a year, with some expectation of making that State his permanent home; and afterwards twice revisited it, the last time in 1845. Under President Harrison's administration, he received an appointment in the Newburyport Custom House, which he resigned after Mr. Polk came into office. The succeeding year brought to a sudden termination his busy, active, and useful life. After an acute illness of only a short duration, he breathed his last on the 9th of March, 1846, aged 68. He died universally lamented by that community whose fortunes he had shared for nearly half a century, and was followed to the grave by mourning relatives who keenly felt their loss.

Mr. Allen was married in 1804, to Dorothy, youngest daughter of Captain William Stickney, by whom he had nine children, three of whom died in infancy. The remaining six, five sons and one daughter, (the latter the wife of our fellow-citizen, William H. Brewster,) still survive him. Mrs. Allen deceased in 1842, much regretted by an attached circle of friends, who loved her for her warmth of heart, conscientious feelings, and Christian life.

Mr. Allen had many excellences of character. Active in his habits, of a buoyant disposition, and public-spirited, he bore a cheerful share in the social movements around him. Military, fire, and other friendly or mutual encouragement and aid associations, found in him, during the years of his more vigorous manhood, a ready and active participant. He was always a regular attendant on religious worship. In middle life, he became impressed with a new sense of his religious obligations, and in 1832 united himself to the church under the pastoral care of Rev. Dr. Dimmick, in which communion he remained till death; exhibiting, in a consistent

Christian walk and conversation, the evidences of a sincere and warm attachment to the faith which he professed. The domestic ties were strongly wound round his heart. That kindliness of disposition which made him so good a friend, was accompanied by a parental tenderness, which made him one of the most affectionate of fathers. The best interests, the permanent welfare, the true happiness of his children, for time and for eternity, were with him objects of a solicitude which never slumbered. Without extraordinary gifts of genius, he had that sober good sense and cautious judgment, which, combined, as they were in him, with an enterprising temper and alacrity and diligence in all undertakings, are not unfrequently a better possession than the most striking endowments of nature. Intelligent, active, persevering, temperate and frugal, with moderated desires and duly regulated ambition, loving the picture of an improving, well-ordered society, kindly disposed towards man, and reverencing his Maker, Mr. Allen was a fair type of that invaluable class of men without which no community or nation can either make progress or secure the desired measure of strength, steadiness or stability. To his children and his fellow-townsmen he left the best of legacies, the memory of a blameless, useful and well-spent life.

In October, 1832, the present senior editor of the *Herald*, J. B. Morse, Esq., was associated in the publication of the *Daily Herald*. (Up to this time it had been published semi-weekly.) In 1834, it passed into the hands of Messrs. Morse & Brewster, with whom it remains to the present time, 1854.

A large number of apprentices in the *Herald* office have become successful editors; among these was the editor of the "*Free Press*," Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., better known as the editor of the Boston "*Liberator*," who is a native of Newburyport, and learned the printing business in the *Herald* office, when in the hands of the late Ephraim S. Allen, Esq. In 1827, we find the name of Mr. Garrison enrolled as a member of the Newburyport *Artillery Company*. Mr. Coffin, the "Boston Bard," was another of these apprentices.

The *Newburyport Advertiser*, the predecessor of the *Daily Evening Union*, is the only Democratic paper which has successfully competed for any length of time with the *Herald*. On the 1st

of January, 1854, the Union was merged into the *Daily Herald*, and a weekly paper, entitled the *Saturday Evening Union*, was established the ensuing February.

The *Broadway Emporium* was started as an advertising medium by its publisher, and distributed gratuitously. It was one of the first of this class of papers printed in Massachusetts.

SHIP-BUILDING IN NEWBURYPORT.

When ship-building was first commenced on the Merrimac, is not positively ascertained, but as early as 1680 this place exported a ship-builder. A Mr. Duncan Stewart and his sons went from Newbury to Rowley, and built the first vessel ever constructed there. This veteran builder was a fine type of the class whom he represented. He lived to the age of one hundred years.

In 1741, we find Mr. *Samuel Moggaridge* engaged in ship-building on the spot now occupied by Mr. George W. Jackman; but who had filled up the intervening half century since Duncan Stewart's day, we do not know. But that there were others who immediately preceded Mr. Moggaridge, we learn from incidental references in papers belonging to his descendants; and among his cotemporaries was Mr. *Ralph Cross*, a native of Ipswich, born in 1706, who early removed to Newbury and commenced ship-building here. His yard was that which is now occupied by Titcomb & Lunt as a mast-yard. His sons, Stephen* and Ralph, succeeded him in the business.

MR. ORLANDO B. MERRILL built over sixty sail of vessels, among which was the ship *Pickering* in 1798, and the sloop *Wasp* for the United States in 1818.

Some controversy has arisen relative to the origin of the ship models now in use. The invention has been claimed by some of the oldest New York builders, but after proper investigation it has been awarded to Orlando B. Merrill, Esq., of this city, who is now living, at the age of ninety-four years, and made the first water line model, on the plan now in use, in the year 1794; previous to that time, there were used only skeleton models, composed of pieces showing the ribs, &c., of the ship.

“At a stated meeting of the New York Historical Society, held at its rooms in the University of the city of New York, on Tuesday

* See Biographical Notice.

evening, June 7, 1853, Mr. De Peyster presented the original ship model, made by the inventor, Orlando B. Merrill, of Belleville,* Mass., in 1794, now ninety-four years of age. The model was given to David Ogden, of New York, in February, 1853, who presented it to the New York Historical Society.

“Extract from the minutes.

“ANDREW WARNER, Recording Secretary.

“January 25, 1854.”

MR. WOODELL, grandfather of Captain J. Woodell, built on the spot which the latter now devotes to the same purpose, fifty-two sail of vessels, from the year 1763 to 1773. His son, in connection with Mr. Hale, the firm of “WOODELL & HALE,” from the close of the war in 1783 to 1790, built ten sail.

Since 1800, CAPTAIN J. WOODELL, formerly in partnership with his father, has built about ninety sail of schooners, from 50 to 320 tons burden.

The Woodell family have therefore built a total of one hundred and fifty-two vessels.

MR. ELIAS JACKMAN was a noted ship-builder from the year 1790 to 1833, and built a great number of vessels during that period.

MR. JOSEPH JACKMAN commenced building in 1822, and between that period and 1829 he built several ships, brigs and schooners.

STEPHEN JACKMAN, JR., between 1830 and 1848 built some thirty sail of vessels, ships, brigs, and schooners, and also two steamers, (the Ohio and Decatur.) Of the brigs which he built, thirteen were to the order of the late John N. Cushing, of this city.

GEORGE W. JACKMAN, JR., since 1849 (to 1853) has built four ships, four barques and one schooner. The ships being from 720 to 1,100 tons.

MR. ELISHA BRIGGS, who formerly occupied the ship-yard now owned by Mr. J. Currier, built from 1807 to 1837, seventeen ships, thirteen brigs and ten schooners.

MR. JOSEPH COFFIN has built since 1810, nine ships, eight barques, three brigs and thirteen schooners.

* Belleville is a part of Newburyport, where the ship-building is chiefly carried on, and is not, as strangers to the locality would suppose from the above extract, a separate township or municipality.

MESSRS "CURRIER & TOWNSEND" from 1843 to 1853, built twenty-three ships, two brigs, eight barques, one schooner, and one steamboat. The ships built by this firm have varied from 700 to 1,667 tons burden.

MR. WILLIAM CURRIER, between 1840 and 1842, built two ships and five barques. With the building of some of the latter was concerned Mr. Donald McKay (now of East Boston.)

MR. JOHN CURRIER, JR., has been extensively engaged in this business for over twenty years. Since 1831 (to 1853) he has built forty-two vessels, viz., thirty-seven ships and five barques, several of the ships being over 900 tons, twenty-one of them being from 600 to 800 tons. In 1847 a steam mill was erected in his ship-yard to facilitate the preparation of timber.

In addition to these builders there have been Messrs. William Gerrish, Jonathan Greenleaf, ——— Woodbridge, (who occupied what was called the "middle ship-yard,") ——— Horton, ——— Dutton, Stephen Coffin and others. Mr. S. Coffin built here in 1813 two of Jefferson's gun-boats. Currier & McKay* built here the Ashburton; and Pickett & McKay the St. George, and John R. Skiddy.

In 1852 the total tonnage of Newburyport was 29,403 which is 9000 greater than that employed in Salem. Of this amount there were employed in the coasting trade 1,549; in the cod, 4,946; and in the mackerel fishery 2,628. The number of foreign vessels arriving during the year was 95. There were built here during the year 8 ships, 6 schooners, and a steamboat of 6,137 tons, more than were built by any other town in the county.

The building of clippers for the New York market is a large and profitable branch of the ship-building interest.

During the year 1853 nineteen vessels of different sizes, were built upon the river, measuring 10,758 tons. The following are the names, tonnage, builders, and owners:

Ship Highflyer, 1200 tons, by Currier & Townsend, for D. Ogden and others, New York.

Yacht Ocean Bride, 50 tons, by Lowell & Sons, Salisbury, for D. Childs and others, Lynn.

* Now of East Boston.

Yacht *Golden Eagle*, 50 tons, by E. P. Lunt, for George Perkins and others.

Barque *Naiad Queen*, 315 tons, by Manson & Fernald, for James Blood and others.

Barque *Wildfire*, 315 tons, by S. McKay, of Amesbury, owned in Boston.

Schooner *John and Frank*, 88 tons, by Bickford & Son, Salisbury, on their own account.

Ship *Guiding Star*, 900 tons, by John Currier, for Moses Davenport and others.

Yacht *Wild Ranger*, 45 tons, by E. P. Lunt, for Benjamin Lunt.

Ship *Constitution*, 1200 tons, by Currier & Townsend, for Messrs. Buntin and others.

Schooner *Tekoa*, 150 tons, by Joseph Coffin, and owned by the same.

Schooner *William H. Fitts*, 58 tons, by William H. Fitts, Salisbury, for himself.

Ship *Whistler*, 900 tons, by George W. Jackman, Jr., and owned in Boston.

Schooner *Spray*, 40 tons, by D. Lowell, Salisbury, owned in Lynn.

Ship *John N. Cushing*, 650 tons, by John Currier, for J. N. & William Cushing.

Ship *Jabez Snow*, 1,200 tons, by Currier & Townsend, for Jabez Snow and others, Boston.

Yacht *Daniel C. Baker*, 50 tons, by Daniel Lowell, Salisbury, owned in Lynn.

Ship *Dreadnaught*, 1,400 tons, by Currier & Townsend, for D. Ogden and others, New York.

Ship *Starr King*, 1,100 tons, by George W. Jackman, Jr., for the builder, and parties in Boston.

Ship *Volant*, 900 tons, by John Currier, for Captain Micajah Lunt and the builder.

Schooner *Fearless*, 140 tons, by Manson & Fernald, owned in Plymouth.

If it is thought by any that we have devoted too much space to the shipping interest, it must be remembered that it was this, and this alone, which gave Newburyport all her early reputation, and on it, in a great measure, has always depended the prosperity of the place.

TONNAGE TABLE.

DATE.	Permanent Registered Vessels.	Enrolled in the Coasting and Fisheries.	Employed in Coasting Trade.	Employed in the Fisheries.	Employed in the Whale Fisheries.	Total Tonnage.
	TONS. WTMS.	TONS. WTMS.	TONS. WTMS.	TONS. WTMS.		TONS. WTMS.
1794	14,819-54	2,461-39	2,005-60	455-71		17,280-93
1795						
1796	16,179-48	3,959-56	3,328-49	631-7		20,129-9
1797	16,290-18	4,614-1	4,256-48	354-19		20,904-19
1798	13,747-44	5,107-40	4,521-73	585-62		18,864-84
1799	15,414-16	2,761-73	2,447-47	314-26		18,175-89
1800	15,412-67	3,604-55	3,244-28	260-27		18,917-27
1801	13,348-23	3,717-92	3,072-41	645-6		17,065-70
1802	14,614-60	3,784-64	2,516-61	1,268-3		18,399-29
1803	16,351-42	4,367-19	2,765-34	1,601-80		20,715-60
1804	19,834-94	3,806-46	2,000-2	1,806-44		23,611-45
1805	24,019-47	4,314-6	1,603-69	2,710-42		28,333-53
1806	25,291-32	4,422-17	1,641-75	2,680-33		29,713-49
1807	26,799-16	4,998-1	1,162-91	3,886-5		31,789-17
1808	22,191-15	7,963-61	4,847-35	3,116-26		30,154-76
1809	23,571-54	4,820	2,733-68	2,086-27		34,391-54
1810	29,897-6	5,398-47	3,889-77	1,508-65		35,296-28
1811	17,359-12	5,983-42	3,921-9	2,062-35		23,342-54
1812	16,670-72	7,262-39	6,795-10	667-29		22,933-16
1813						
1814	13,571-50	6,785-60	5,908-17	877-43		20,357-15
1815	15,003-62	6,995-25	6,849-53	1,045-65		21,999-22
1816	16,331-21	7,170-65				23,501-86
1817	15,464-46	8,716-33				24,180-79
1818	15,281-80	9,516-37				25,798-22
1819	14,893-35	10,335-37				25,229-72
1820	8,786-35	2,323-14				11,109-49
1821	10,071-14	984-4				10,155-18
1822	9,481-41	10,525-51				20,006-92
1823	9,519-88	10,951-41				20,471-34
1824	9,168-32	11,706-92				20,875-29
1825	8,309-92	12,048-54				20,357-76
1826	9,844-58	12,986-38				22,830-94
1827	10,778-76	13,622-37				24,401-17
1828	12,280-62	14,707-49	9,114-88	5,592-56		26,988-16
1829	11,215-78	7,398-83	35-11	7,363-72		18,614-66
1830	9,714-44	6,862-98	1,004-60	5,880-38		16,677-47
1831	10,487-65	7,172-23	793	6,378-25		17,659-88
1832	11,854	8,277-90	988-9	7,289-81		20,131-90
1833	12,166-11	9,368-86	538-4	8,781-82		21,535-2
1834	14,699-9	8,632-88	2,231-61	6,381-27		23,202-2
1835	14,510-85	10,693-62				25,204-52
1836	12,059-30	10,205-24	3,759-15	6,446-1	1,440-20	22,264-54
1837	11,473-38	10,604-59	4,064-48	6,540-11	685-38	22,078-2
1838	10,640-66	9,909-52	2,198-62	7,709-95	329-35	20,549-23
1839	13,172-50	10,048-73	3,084-54	6,964-19	413-65	23,231-28
1840	14,591-73	9,373-34	4,424-5	5,033-28		23,965-12
1841	14,286-44	5,392-84	4,435-11	4,496-19		23,217-74
1842	15,648-19	5,392-84	1,376-63	4,026-12		21,041-8
1843	14,362-4	6,324-29	2,551-84	2,772-40		19,686-93
1844	16,162-65	4,910-55	766-21	4,144-24		21,073-75
1845	16,586-32	5,396-69	2,025-36	3,371-23		21,962-91
1846	16,451-8	5,865-6	2,071-91	3,789-10		22,406-14
1847	18,038-42	7,144-44	2,557-93	4,584-48		25,182-86
1848	21,314-45	7,658-55	1,303-85	6,354-65		28,973-5
1849	17,720-82	7,289-87	2,646-48	4,643-39		25,010-74
1850	16,213-57	7,048-29	494-27	6,554-2		23,261-86
1851	18,766-11	7,940-69	495-29	7,435-40		26,706-80
1852	19,349-71	9,503-10	4,754-61	6,208-94		27,852-81
1853	22,025-14	9,598-78	4,664-27	4,291-11		31,623-92

Ship-building, the manufacture of cotton cloth, fishing and shoe-making, are the occupations which employ the greatest number of hands in Newburyport, but the two latter are very frequently combined in the same person, many men who go to sea in the summer employing the winter months at the bench.

The manufacture of organs has been carried to great perfection in this place by Mr. Joseph Atley, who has built in all thirty-four organs, some of large size. Mr. Richard Morse was formerly engaged in the business, and built the organ in the Prospect street church.

On the 1st of January, the comb-making business was commenced by Lucian A. Emory & Co., on Fair street, who employ fifty hands, and are doing a business of \$50,000 per annum.

The population of Newburyport was,

In 1764	2,282	In 1830	6,741
1790	4,837	1840	7,161
1800	5,946	1850	9,534
1810	7,634	1851	12,866
1820	6,852		

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF NEWBURYPORT.

Newburyport, as now defined, lies on the southern bank of the Merrimac river. The closely built portion of it extends some three miles in length, and less than a quarter of a mile in width; this narrow parallelogram gradually ascending from the river to High street, or "the Ridge." The streets are regularly laid out, running from the ridge to the river, and crossed by transverse ways at nearly right angles, with some few exceptions. The place is noted for its cleanliness, the general appearance of thrift and comfort among its inhabitants, and the number and beauty of the trees which adorn the streets.

Back of "the Ridge" lies an agricultural district, which may be reached from any part of the town in fifteen minutes; while the river, lying at its feet, gives to it that vitality and spirit which characterize a seaport town. Towards the north, a part of the town, called Belleville, concentrates the ship-building interest. Here are four ship-yards, three large and one smaller; the products of which may now be found in every quarter of the globe. In the

central portion of the town are gathered the merchants and retail traders, the City Hall, Banks, Market House, &c., and through it runs the railroad, penetrating the ridge by a tunnel, and being carried by a bridge, elevated some twenty-five feet, across Merrimac street, and leading thence directly across the river, over which, many times a day, rushes the screaming locomotive. Towards the southerly part of the town, we find the fishermen, many of whom in winter work at shoemaking. And here too is one of the primitive ship-yards,* long dedicated to the exclusive production of schooners. This section of the town owns to the common appellation of "Joppa;" and leading directly from this, in a south-easterly direction, is the Plum Island turnpike, which by a bridge connects the island to the main land, at a distance of nearly two miles from the southern extremity of Water street. Hence, the inhabitants of Newburyport have within the compass of a moderate walk, the choice of turning to the green fields, with the West Newbury hills forming a background to the picture; to the inland river scenery, over which presides the "bald summit of old Powow;" or to the dashing waves of the free Atlantic, which spend their unobstructed strength on the yielding shores of Plum Island; while interspersed everywhere over the town, rise the church spire and the school-house, and those emblems of industry, the cotton factories, which pour out into the streets some six times a day, their fifteen hundred well-paid and well-cared-for operatives. A few rods distant from the southern extremity of the thickly settled part of the town, is "Pettingell's," formerly "Pierce's" farm, upon which stands an ancient stone house, built about 1660 or 1670,† used in the early days of Newbury to store the town's powder; a portion of which on one occasion exploded and blew out a side of the house, lodging a woman, a negro slave of Mr. Pierce's, bed and all, in the branches of a large apple tree. From the Pierce family who occupied this estate, is descended Franklin Pierce, President of the United States; Benjamin Pierce, of Hillsborough, being descended from Benjamin Pierce of Newbury, who is buried in Byfield Parish, Newbury, and, if we may believe his epitaph, like his descendant, a "pillar i' th' State he was."

* Captain J. Woodwell's. See "Ship-building."

† Coffin.

Following up the street, along the water-side, the southern half of which is called Water street, and the northern Merrimac street; commencing at the southern extremity, the following varieties of business may be observed, with many others which we have not space to enumerate. At the starting-point is located the gas factory, which, with its iron arms, diffuses its light through all parts of the town; from which, following up Water street, through "Joppa," we find the shore lined with small boats and nets, which latter may often be seen drying in the sun; while on vacant lots to the left, in the latter part of summer, it is not uncommon to see the fish-flakes reared, and the cod, which the fishermen have brought home ready salted, spread out to dry, preparatory to packing. Attached to many of the houses in this vicinity are small workshops, which in winter are occupied by groups of four, six, or eight shoemakers, busily plying awl and thread, while they watch for the opening spring, which will lead many of them to the "banks" and the "Labrador," in pursuit of the mackerel and cod. In this vicinity, and both above and below it, for some distance, the shore consists of flats, which are only deeply covered with water at full tide. From this position, perhaps one or more pilot boats may be seen putting out after some ship or barque, whose white sails may be discerned on looking down the harbor, between Salisbury point and Plum Island, standing up to the bar, where, if she is a stranger, she must wait for a guide.

Above Bromfield street, anciently the southern limits of Newburyport, the wharves jut out in quick succession, one after another, into the stream, and fishing schooners, coasters, West India traders, eastern vessels, with wood from the Provinces, fill up the docks. To the left stands the James cotton mill; and at little less than a mile from our starting-place, we come to Lunt's mast-yard, where the long pine timbers are shaped into spars and masts for the schooners we have passed, and the ships which we shall come to, and for others which may never see the Merrimac. Not far from here are the boat-builders, Orne & Rolfe, and Pickett, the latter of whom, in 1846, built a splendid thirty-oared barge for the Government, to be used in the war with Mexico.

Nearly opposite to them is Huse's cigar factory; and in this vicinity are found the importers of West India goods, coal, lumber,

and grain; and a little farther on, we approach the Custom House, a substantial granite building, which contains not one square foot of wood-work from the cellar to the cupola; and just beyond, is the primitive ferry-way established by Andros, where now, as then, the Merrimac may be crossed in the style of our ancestors a century and a half ago, the traveller being rowed across at a nominal price, and at a pace which gives ample opportunity to examine all the beauties of the harbor, the river, and the Salisbury shore with which it connects.

Above this a few rods, we leave Water street, which terminates in Market square — an open space into which leads the central business street, (State street,) and at a few rods from the foot of which, stands the Market House. From the north side of Market square, the water street is continued under the name of Merrimac street. Walking on in this direction, we have, on Brown's wharf, the iron foundry, and then pass the machine-shop of Mr. Lesley, the marble-yard of Mr. Ira Davis; and a little beyond the railroad bridge, the distillery of Mr. Caldwell.* The first ship-yard we approach, is that of Messrs. Manson & Fernald; then comes a tannery, which business has been carried on on the same spot nearly ever since the "water-side" was settled. Soon appear the blacksmith shops, the adjuncts to the larger ship-yards. Here we shall probably see several clippers on the stocks in various degrees of progress, and perhaps a steamboat building. Passing the several ship-yards, the road leads directly to the "Chain bridge," (the Essex Merrimac,) which crosses the river at little more than four miles above the gas factory.

Parallel with the water-side street, and at little less than a quarter of a mile from it, runs High street, where the "retired merchants most do congregate;" and at a central point on its line, on the west-erly side, is situated the "Bartlett Mall," an enclosed piece of ground on the centre of which stands the County Court House, and at either end, a brick school-house. Back of the Mall lies a beautiful pond, surrounded with terrace walks, elevated from twenty to forty feet above its level. The general appearance of this vicinity is extremely pleasing and picturesque, the effect being heightened by an ancient

* Mr. Caldwell makes about five hundred hogsheads of rum per annum.

burying hill lying just beyond its westerly limits. Between High and Water streets, the upper ship-yard and the gas factory, is contained the mass of the population of the city.

"The avenue known as High street, in this city, is remarkable for its location, extent, and beauty. Many portions of it not only afford an extensive view of the scenery for ten miles in the surrounding country, the full extent of the handsomest portion of the city, and the numerous private residences, gardens, lawns, and landscapes, but it commands a most beautiful marine panoramic view of our coast from the Isles of Shoals to Cape Ann, including Plum Island and the harbor. The location of this street is the admiration of strangers from all parts of the country. The many tasty dwellings located along its entire length, extending a distance of over six miles, from Parker river to Chain bridge, its winding way through Belleville and Newbury, together with the beautiful foliage intermingled with the waving elms, the sturdy oak, and the majestic forest trees of a century's growth, arching their spreading branches in luxuriant grandeur, united with songs of the forest birds, and enlivened by fragrant aromatic breezes constantly sweeping their course from hundreds of highly cultivated exotic plants and gardens on either side, cooled by refreshing air from the ocean, contribute to make this avenue of our city a delightful promenade and fashionable retreat during the summer season. The number of shade trees on High street, embracing that portion within the limits of Newburyport, (from the 'Three Roads' on the north, to Marlborough street on the south,) is *eleven hundred and forty-seven*."*

The climate of Newburyport, though variable, is healthy for most constitutions, excepting that class disposed to bronchial or pulmonary complaints. The town is subject to no epidemic diseases, and the cholera has never effected a lodgment here.

One cause of the salubrity of the place, is the excellent water which is found here. The soil is gravelly, and with the exception of the wells nearest to the river, the springs are peculiarly pure. Those near the mouth of the river contain a large proportion of the muriates and nitrates of lime and soda, which are, however, principally objectionable, when conducted through lead pipes. On the

* Herald.

higher parts of the town the water has been found to contain only $7\frac{200}{1000}$ grains of soluble and insoluble matter, to a gallon of water, (the gallon containing 56,000 grains,) and is composed of the following substances: Chromate of lime 2.24 grains, carbonate of lime 1.10, sulphate of lime 0.48, nitrate of soda, 1.40, muriate of soda 1.51, sulphate of soda 0.41, silica and potash 0.14; total 7.28 grains.

The number of persons who attain to an unusual age in Newburyport is remarkable. Of twenty-three funerals attended by one clergyman in the town, from 1846 to 1848, the combined ages of eleven of the subjects, amounted to $844\frac{1}{2}$ years. In 1810, there were of the deaths occurring, ten men between eighty and ninety, eleven women about eighty, and two past ninety. In the fall of 1853, at the funeral of an aged lady, the sum of the united ages of four persons in one carriage, was three hundred and twenty-five years; the addition of another relative, still living, would have made the sum total of their ages, over four hundred years. At the present writing (1854,) there are quite a number of persons near, and several over ninety years of age, in the city.

In the section of Newburyport known as Belleville Parish, (between Artichoke river and Oakland street,) there have not been less than eleven persons over *eighty* years of age since the year 1839, and during this interval the number over eighty, has varied from eleven to seventeen. The average of population in this section of the city, during this time, has been about 1000. There is also a large number of citizens embraced in this parish, who might be considered "aged," but who have not as yet reached the mark of fourscore.

Nor is it only length of years to which we can point; many of those reaching extreme old age, retaining their strength and faculties beyond the common term of nature. Mrs. Mary Toppan, who died in 1888 at the age of 105 years, retained all her faculties of mind to the last, and suffered no peculiar bodily infirmity, except loss of sight, which was not ascribed to her length of days. Mr. T. A. Coffin, at the age of eighty, walked from Newburyport to Hampton Depot, then rode fourteen miles and visited the beach, walked over and examined the state of his farm, and returned in the cars to Newburyport the same evening, exhibiting no unusual signs of

fatigue. Deacon Ezekiel Prince,* a native of Newburyport, died in Boston, January, 1852, at the age of ninety-two. When eighty years of age he painted the outside of his own house ; at the age of ninety, being in Charlestown, he walked to the top of the Bunker Hill Monument, a feat greatly more exhausting than a walk of many miles on level ground.

Deacon Henry Merrill, who deceased April 8d, 1844, at the advanced age of ninety-three, had filled the office of Deacon in the First Baptist Church, for a period of nearly forty years ; and though residing a distance of three and a half miles from the meeting-house, he was never absent from public worship a single Sabbath for *twenty years*, and, till the age of eighty-three, when he had the misfortune to break his leg, had never been confined to the house by sickness a single day in his life.

We might add pages of similar instances of strength, health and longevity, but the specimens selected must suffice.

PLUM ISLAND.

There is no native of Newburyport, and scarcely a stranger who has visited our city in the summer season, who does not retain vivid recollections of this fantastic strip of sand. To the minds of most, its associations are of the social gatherings of friends, of sea-side picnics with home companions and stranger guests ; the eye recalls the sandy beach dotted with tents ; the cloth spread on the clean yellow sand, surrounded with groups of young men and maidens, old men and children, the complacent pastor and the grave deacon, all enjoying together a day of unrestrained mirth and healthful recreation ; some indulging in the exuberance of their wild delight amid the waves that roll their white crests to the feet of the more timid watchers, and others preparing the gondola for a return home, knocking away the poles that support the tents, or packing up the fragments of the feast preparatory to stowing them in the carriage, wagon or boat,

* Mr. Prince was the son of the Rev. Mr. Prince, (a blind preacher,) whose remains lie beside Whitfield's in the vault of the Federal Street Church ; and was brother to James Prince, for many years Collector of Newburyport. The late Dr. Sidney A. Doan, of New York, belonged to this family, being a grandson of James Prince, Esq., the latter gentleman entertained La Fayette on his visit to this town.

that is waiting to carry the party home, just as the sun is setting behind the western hills.

Thousands remember just such scenes as these when they think of Plum Island; but there is another picture, with darker shades, which comes between the eye and heart at the mention of Plum Island. There are some to whom that name recalls a dark, stormy night—the heavy moaning of the sea—a bark vainly striving to clear the breakers—blinding snow—a slippery deck—stiff and glazed ropes—hoarse commands that the cruel winds seize and carry far away from the ear of the sailor—a crash of tons of falling water beating in the hatches—shrieks which *no man* heard, and ghastly corpses on the deceitful, shifting sands, and the great ocean cemetery, still holding in awful silence the lost bodies of the dead.

When the north-east wind blows, and the misty fog, which has left its home in the Bay of Fundy, and travelled down the coast, shrouding from sight the breakers and the bar, and dimming the warning harbor lights,—when the drizzling rain turns to the fierce tempest, and the deep roar of the Atlantic can be heard like mournful dirges in the streets,—then the citizens of Newburyport think of Plum Island, and speculate on the probability that a vessel may even then be vainly struggling amid the breakers. If in the day-time, one and another, and here and there a party, put on their thickest coats, and stoutest boots, and speed away to Plum Island, to see the storm in its majesty, and to rescue its victims, if any such there are, that may be reached.

In December, 1839, occurred one of these terrible storms. On the 15th, there had been a very high tide, which had overflowed the wharves on the river-side, and covered the eastern end of Plum Island with water, so that for some hours the keeper could not get to the lights, a lake having formed between his dwelling-house and the light-houses. The hotel nearer the bridge was also surrounded with water, while sandhills twenty feet high were washed away, and others formed, the eastern shore being reduced by the action of the waves, many rods. On the 24th, there was a recurrence of the storm, and during the night, a brig of some three hundred tons, the *Pocahontas*, struck, and was discovered early in the morning, but in such a situation that nothing could be done for the relief of the wretched men who still clung to the wreck. Those on board in whom

life remained, could see the excited but impotent spectators on the shore, while the latter gazed with useless sympathy upon the strugglers in this terrible conflict of the elements. The surf was such that no boat could possibly live in it, and those in the brig were too distant to throw lines on shore, if the wind had not been enlisted against such a means of deliverance. The bodies of several of the crew were afterwards found on the beach at some distance from the brig, with the small boat lying near, showing that these had attempted thus to escape, but perished by the very means taken to preserve their lives. These probably left the brig before daylight, and perhaps before she struck. Seven bodies of the crew were recovered, besides the captain and first mate.*

One man who was seen before nine in the morning on the bowsprit, retained that critical position until near twelve, when a heavy sea washed away him and his support, and he was lost in full sight of scores of spectators. To make his case the more sad, it was but a few minutes after this catastrophe that the brig was washed upon the beach, so that it was readily boarded from the shore. One man was found lashed to the vessel with life not extinct when first discovered, but so exhausted that he ceased to breathe without being able to make an intelligible sign. The sea had beaten over him so fiercely and continuously, that his clothes were almost entirely washed off of him.

Still the un pitying storm beat on. The ice was driven in from the flats to the wharves, and piled up on the lower part of Water street.

* The poet must have had a very similar scene in mind when writing:

"Seven sailors went sailing out into the East;
 Into the East as the sun went down;
 Each thought of the woman that loved him the best,
 And the children were watching them out of the town.
 For men must work, and women must weep,
 Though the harbor bar be moaning.

* * * * *

Seven corpses lay on the shining sand—
 On the shining sand when the tide went down;
 And the women are weeping and wringing their hands,
 For those who will never come back to the town.
 For men must work, and women must weep;
 And there's little to earn, and many to keep,
 Though the harbor bar be moaning."

KINGSLY, (*Altered*).

The light-houses were at one time considered in danger, as the water flowed above the blockings on which they were placed, even at an hour which should have been low tide. Of one hundred and thirty vessels in port, forty-one were more or less injured; and one, the schooner *Panama*, was sunk at her wharf.

When, after several days, it became almost certain that no more bodies would be discovered, the stranger corpses were borne into the broad aisle of the South church — the American ensign thrown over the coffins, — the bells tolled, — and amid a concourse of two thousand five hundred people, solemn prayer was offered over these human waifs, untimely thrown upon our shores. But they were not all strangers. One lay there, the master of the vessel, whose name and lineage and features were familiar to many in that crowded sanctuary. Young Captain Cook, and the first officer, also named Cook, were the only ones recognized that day. The others were borne by the hands of strangers to the old burying hill, while the bells tolled solemnly, and the drooping flags hung at half-mast from the vessels at their moorings; and on that ancient hill-side now stands a neat monument over the spot which humanity offered for their repose.

Other wrecks have there been before and since December, 1889; but none the circumstances of which were more indelibly impressed upon the mind, especially of those who participated in these funeral services.

On Christmas day, 1850, was discovered on the snow-covered beach, the frozen body of a young man, belonging to the schooner *Argus*, wrecked a day or two before. He was quite young, not more than 19 or 20, and had evidently reached the shore alive, but benumbed with cold, and exhausted with his efforts to reach the shore, had laid down in a posture of repose, but it was to a rest which knew no earthly waking. He was discovered by a Mr. Johnson, of Rowley, and brought up to town by S. T. Payson, Esq. The corpse, decently arrayed for the grave, with another of the same crew, subsequently found on the beach by Mr. T. G. Dodge, was buried from the same church whence the crew of the *Pocahontas* had been carried to their last resting place. Of the crew of the *Argus*, five perished; two were washed off the vessel and not recovered. It is supposed the two found on the beach

attempted to swim on shore. One was not accounted for; the captain only was saved.

Four months and a half later, on the 15th of April, 1851, commenced another storm which is now fresh in the recollection of all, but which is recorded as not without interest for the future. On Monday, the slowly gathering, but thick easterly mist, announced the coming of a storm; the mist in a few hours turned to a steady rain, accompanied by a heavy gale; on Tuesday greatly increasing in violence; and by Wednesday morning, it proved one of the most severe ever experienced in this vicinity. It was the more fearful, as coming on an unusually high course of tides, which rendered every additional impetus, dangerous and destructive. At Wednesday noon, the tide was higher than at any other previously recorded, except perhaps one which occurred exactly a hundred years ago, in 1753, when during a violent E.N.E. storm of snow, the tide rose to an unprecedented height; so much so that in a corn-mill situated on Parker river, some six or seven miles from the sea-shore, the tide flowed in to the depth of twenty-three inches on the floor.* It was twenty-two inches higher than in the gale of December, 1839, and thirteen inches higher than at any subsequent time. The wharves were covered with water from one to four feet, which also forced its way into the warehouses on the wharves, and filled the cellars on the lower side of Water street. During Tuesday night, the watchmen employed at the ship-yards, found a quantity of timber floating off, and much was lost before aid could be procured to save the remainder. In the morning, and towards high tide, several hundred cords of wood and lumber floated from the wharves, and went adrift. The wharves themselves were many of them badly damaged; the lower long wharf to the amount of some \$1,200.

Many vessels were badly chafed by beating against each other and the docks, and some broke adrift. The Essex mill, which is situated on the water-side, above the bridge, had its engine and boiler-house nearly filled with water,† and the waste-house was thrown over and forced from its place. As high up as Hale's wharf, the spray was thrown against the windows of the second

* Family Record of Mr. John Pearson.

† Daily Herald.

stories of houses on the upper side of the street ; while below South street, the river broke in waves over the whole line of the road to Plum Island ; and the spray was carried to the tops of the houses on the upper side of Water street. A number of workshops and outbuildings were grasped by the advancing waters, and borne off in triumph, only to be cast back again, shattered and in fragments, by the next returning wave. A view of the scene the next day, made the destruction appear quite as impressive as during the violence of the storm. The road was torn up, and impassable for horses or carriages, strewn with wood and timber and fragments of buildings which the angry waves had left, as if in contempt for their worthlessness, and which they had only rent to atoms to show their own prowess. Many families on the lower side of the street, fearing for the foundations of their dwellings, had temporarily abandoned them, and spent the night with hospitable neighbors ; while many had removed some of their more frail and valuable pieces of furniture, and for days after might be seen carrying them back to their still undemolished homes. When within the town the resistless tides had so completely pronounced their ascendancy, it may well be imagined that Plum Island presented a still more desolate aspect. On Wednesday noon, Plum Island bridge was covered with water and quite impassable ; but previous to the highest rising of the tide, two of our citizens, Messrs. T. G. Dodge and O. Rundlett, impressed with the idea that a vessel was lying off Plum Island, and that it was possible they might be of use to the endangered crew, had made their way to the island at about half-past ten in the morning ; and there, lying to, outside of the breakers, was a brig, which it was evident could not long withstand the sea, which was forcing her on to the beach. Messrs. Dodge and Rundlett made for the "Relief Hut, No. 1 ;" a house erected shortly before by Captain Nicholas Brown and others, for the purpose of affording temporary shelter to shipwrecked mariners, and also for those who ventured to their assistance ; the latter needing occasional shelter from the fury of the storms, and the means of making a fire, to enable them to be of much assistance to those threatened with destruction. The vessel now in sight was not far from the house, and presently the watchers saw her mainsail give way ; control over her was lost, and they knew she must

soon strike. They had not long to wait; she struck almost as soon as they came opposite to her, on a reef about two hundred yards from the shore, and about half a mile below the relief house, and between that and the Emerson rocks. The crew could plainly see their unknown friends on the shore, and by signal communicated with them, the brig gradually beating up the beach. Many and persevering efforts were made to secure a line which the crew endeavored to throw on shore from the brig, but, undiscouraged, Messrs. Dodge and Rundlett remained in the surf nearly three hours before this was accomplished. A little before one o'clock, they were joined by Mr. Lufkin, who resided on the island, some two miles below the wreck, who with a hired man came to their assistance. An hour's more toil and the rope was at last secured, and the Captain and crew, with a single passenger, nine persons in all, were thus, by the humane and persevering efforts of these men, rescued from their perilous situation. Too much credit cannot be given to those who thus exposed themselves to wet and cold, and exhausting endeavors to rescue the imperilled strangers. The brig proved to be the *Primrose*, Captain Bokman, with a cargo of coal, from Pictou bound to Boston. The Captain had not been able to take an observation for several days, and supposed himself in Boston Bay, till he discovered the breakers at his feet. She lay imbedded in the sand till the ensuing July, when she was towed off, having had her cargo taken out by the steamer *C. B. Stevens*, then running on the river between Newburyport and Haverhill.

The damage caused by this storm along the wharves and among the shipping, could not have been less than twenty thousand dollars, while the injury to the Plum Island turnpike and bridge was only repaired at a cost of about four thousand dollars. The sea at one time broke completely over the island, in some parts, leaving lakes and ponds in unwonted places when the storm subsided.

Communication on the Eastern Railroad was interrupted on the morning of the 16th and 17th, by the washing away of a portion of the road by the Rowley marshes, and during Wednesday a large number of persons came over the Georgetown Railroad to see the ravages which the storm was making along the shore. Indeed, so exciting was the scene along the lower part of Water street, that the streets leading to it were thronged with groups of interested

persons and spectators, among whom were probably two or three hundred ladies, who participated, despite of wind and weather, in enjoying the fascinating excitement of the scene.

The Plum Island Bridge and Turnpike Company was incorporated in 1805, with a capital of \$25,000, divided into 500 shares. In 1837, \$20 was assessed on each share, and in 1851, \$10 per share. The bridge has been twice washed away; in 1851, as related above, and in 1882, when it remained unbuilt for the next succeeding five years, but was rebuilt in 1887 at a cost of \$13,000. In 1818 and at other periods it has been very seriously damaged.

In 1808 a whirlwind passed over the northern end of Plum Island, throwing over the light-houses and leaving them stretched out like dead sentinels, not side by side as might naturally be expected, but in opposite directions, as if they had fallen in deadly conflict with each other.

Plum Island bears north and south, and is between eight and nine miles in length, and less than a mile in width; the northern half of it was originally owned by the town of Newbury; but in 1827 it was bought of the "Proprietors' Committee on undivided lands in Newbury," by Moses Pettingell, Esq., of Newburyport, for the sum of \$600; in whose possession this portion still remains. The southern part of the island belongs to Ipswich and Rowley, and contains a few dwelling-houses and farms; but the northern part is entirely composed of sand, which is thrown by the wind into hillocks of various heights and forms, and on the eastern shore is continually the sport of the Atlantic billows, which change its outline from year to year, making its shores a new study, to the lover of nature, who might here revel in one of her wildest and most fantastic forms, an ever new delight.

Besides the small *beach plum*, which originally gave name to the island, the juniper bush, and a coarse species of grass which is found in patches sometimes of several acres in extent, there are few other plants to be found indigenous to the soil, except the "*prunus littoralis*, (of Bigelow,) the *Hudsonia tomentosa*, bearing a small yellow flower, the *Convallaria stellata*, the *lathyrus maritimus* (of Bigelow,) and the *arenaria pebloides*," discovered R. S. Spofford, M. D., of Newburyport."

* Cushing's Hist. Newburyport.

MISCELLANY.

INSURANCE COMPANIES.

The only Insurance Company now in operation in Newburyport, is the "*Newburyport Mutual Fire Insurance Company*," incorporated in 1829, of which John Balch, Esq., is President, and J. J. Knapp, Esq., Secretary.

There has been a large number of private insurance companies here, but few incorporated, Boston Companies usually keeping agents here. The following incomplete list is all that we have been able to ascertain regarding them.

In 1776, there appeared in the *Essex Journal*, a notice of the first insurance office opened in Newburyport.

In 1784, a private insurance office was opened by Michael Hodge, Esq., on the site now occupied by Messrs. T. H. & A. W. Lord.

In 1798, another private office was opened by Mr. John Balch at a place called "The Hole in the Wall," at the foot of Green street.

In June, 1799, was *incorporated* the Marine Insurance Company, "to continue until 1819." Ebenezer Stocker, President.

An office called the "Newburyport Marine Insurance" was opened in 1802.

In 1803, the "Merrimac Marine and Fire Insurance Company, was *incorporated* (February 15,) "to continue till 1823." John Pearson, President.

An insurance office was opened by Mr. Joseph Balch, in 1803. The Union Marine and Fire Insurance Company, of which Stephen Holland was President, was kept (in 1806,) over the store now occupied by Mr. John Chamberlain, in Market Square.

The Newburyport Marine Insurance Company was kept by Mr. John Porter on State street in 1810.

The Merrimac Insurance Company, of which Jeremiah Nelson was President, was in operation in 1815.

In 1817, a private insurance office was opened by the late Seth Sweetzer, Esq., over the store now occupied by Mr. Joseph Goodhue, Market Square.

Mr. Cushing in his History mentions another incorporated company, the "Phoenix" prior to 1826, (date of incorporation not given.)

An office was opened on Water street, (date not known,) the Secretary of which was "Master Clannin."

The Merchants' Insurance Company (date of opening not known,) dissolved in 1836, having lost heavily, but paying up all their debts and interest.

The Essex Marine Insurance Company had at risk in 1840 over \$170,000.

BANKS.

The Banks now doing business in Newburyport are the *Merchants'*, the *Mechanics'* and the *Ocean*.

There have been *three* banking institutions incorporated under the name of the "Newburyport Bank," and one called the "Merrimac Bank." This latter was incorporated June 25th, 1795, to go into operation the ensuing 1st of July, the charter to hold until July 1st, 1805. Of this, William Bartlett was President, and Joseph Cutler, Cashier.

The next incorporated was the Newburyport Bank, March 8th, 1803, Dudley A. Tyng, President, and William W. Prout, Cashier. With this institution was united the Merrimac Bank, (on the expiration of its charter in 1805,) the concern being carried on under the name of the "Newburyport Bank," the charter of which, was to continue till the first Monday in October, 1812, with a capital of of \$550,000, William Bartlett being President, and Samuel Mulliken, Cashier.

On the expiration of the charter in 1812, a new Act of Incorporation was obtained for the "Newburyport Bank" with a capital of \$210,000. The charter to hold till the first Monday in October, 1831. (This was succeeded by the "Merchants' Bank.")

The last named "Newburyport Bank" was incorporated in 1836,

and in no way connected with the preceding. It had a capital of \$100,000; Stephen W. Marston, President. During the disastrous money crisis of 1837-9, it became embarrassed, and finally suspended payment in 1841. In 1845 its affairs were wound up, the Bank redeeming in full every bill in circulation.

The **MECHANICS' BANK**, of Newburyport, was incorporated in 1813. Its most active projector was James Prince, Esq., who with Messrs. John O'Brien, William Russell, Joshua Little, William Davis, Abraham Williams, John Brickett, James Horton and Gilman Frothingham, was named in the act of incorporation. The company had a capital stock of \$200,000, which has remained without change from the commencement of its operations. The number of shares is 2000, of \$100 each. John Pettingell was its first President, and continued in that office until 1828. Moses Davenport, Esq., has recently been elected President, in place of the late John Wood, Esq.

The **MERCHANTS' BANK**, of Newburyport, was incorporated March 18, 1831. Messrs. "William Bartlett, John Wills, John Wood, Robert Jenkins, John N. Cushing, Benjamin Hale, William Balch, Stephen Tilton, Henry Johnson, Amos Noyes, David Noyes, Henry Frothingham, Samuel Nichols, Eleazer Johnson, Edmund Swett, and others," being named in the act of incorporation. Capital, \$225,000. Captain John Wills was elected President, and Mr. Samuel Mulliken, who had been for many years Cashier of the Newburyport Bank, was elected Cashier. The Bank commenced business June 6, 1831, and in October of the next year, the President, Captain Wills, declined a reelection to the Presidency, and was succeeded by Henry Johnson, Esq., who held the office for twenty-one years, until October, 1853, when he resigned, and Hon. Micajah Lunt was chosen to succeed him.

In 1833 the capital stock of this bank was increased \$75,000, bringing it up to \$300,000, the par value of the shares remaining as at its organization (\$50).

In 1844 it was, however, reduced \$90,000, leaving it at \$210,000, at which it has since remained. The par value of the shares was then also reduced to \$35.

The Merchants' Bank arose on the ashes of the old Newburyport Bank, whose charter expired by limitation, October, 1831, the office, real estate, &c., being purchased and still occupied by the officers of the Merchants'. In 1851, the veteran Cashier of the bank, Samuel Mulliken, Esq., having attained the age of 82 years, resigned his office, and Mr. Gyles P. Stone was elected his successor.

The OCEAN BANK, of Newburyport, was incorporated March 20, 1833. The persons named in the act were John Wills, first President of the Merchants' Bank, William Davis, Seth Clark, of Salisbury, Phillip Johnson, Henry Frothingham, Jacob W. Pierce, Richard Stone and Henry Titcomb, Jr. The original capital was \$200,000, but in 1844, the capital was reduced to \$100,000, at which it remains. The number of shares was 2,000, of par value, \$50 each; the average number of stockholders being 250. Captain John Wills was the prime mover in getting up the Ocean Bank, and was its first President, which office is now filled by William Stone, Esq.

The average dividend before the reduction of capital was four per cent. per annum, since which time it has been ten per cent.

INSTITUTION FOR SAVINGS.

Office, corner of State and Essex streets. Incorporated in 1820. Micajah Lunt, *President*; John Harrod, *Treasurer*; Richard Stone, *Secretary*. On deposit (1853) over \$1,000,000.

Among the By-Laws are the following. "No deposit received less than *one dollar*, and no sum less than *three dollars* shall be put on interest."

"Office hours from 9 A. M. to 1 P. M., and from 2½ P. M. until 4 P. M., excepting Saturday afternoon and public holidays."

"Dividends payable on the fourth Wednesday of April and October; dividends not called for, added to the principal of the depositor and placed on interest."

"No interest paid on sums drawn before the regular period for declaring dividends, which is the third Wednesday in April and October, nor on any sum which has not been on deposit three months."

"At the end of every five years, the net profits of the Institution are added to the capital of all depositors, whose deposits amount to three dollars and upwards."

"Money can be withdrawn on any day during office hours, *except* on the third Wednesdays of January, April, July and October; but no sum less than one dollar can at any time be withdrawn.

"The Trustees may by vote of the majority return the amount of all or any of the deposits, or divide the property among the depositors in their proper proportions, by giving three months' notice."

This is the legal provision for dissolving the Institution; so that in this extremity, which there is no reason whatever to anticipate, the depositor is ensured against loss.

ESSEX STEAM MILL.

The Essex Steam Mill was incorporated in 1834, with a capital stock of \$100,000; par value of shares \$5,000, the number of shares, 200. The present officers are George Gardener, *President*; James Reed, *Treasurer*; William C. Balch, *Agent*.

BARTLETT STEAM MILLS.

This Company owns two buildings, situated on land adjoining Pleasant and Inn streets. Company incorporated in 1837. Capital stock \$350,000. Number of shares 700, of par value \$500 each. Sheetings and shirtings (of No. 40) are manufactured to the amount of 2,000,000 yards per year. The number of hands employed average 400. Spindles 18,080, looms 391. In one of the buildings the engine is of 100 horse power, and in the other but 70.

This company was originally incorporated as the "Wessacumcon Mills," and the principal projectors of it were Messrs. Ebenezer Moseley, Richard S. Spofford, M. D., John Chickering, Samuel T. De Ford, Phillip Johnson, William Ashby and T. M. Clark. The capital stock was originally divided into 350 shares, of \$1,000 each. The present division of stock was made in May, 1845. The annual meeting of stockholders is held in May. Eben. Stone, *Treasurer*. The name of the Mills was changed in 1840.

JAMES STEAM MILL.*

Situated on Water street, foot of Charles: was incorporated January 28, 1842, with a capital of \$250,000. The building is 312 feet long, 50 feet wide, and four stories high, employing 17,000 spindles, and 356 looms. The engine is rated at 180 horse power. The mill produces annually, of fine shirtings and sheetings, (of about No. 40,) a little over 2,000,000 of yards; consuming 590,000 pounds, or 1,300 bales of cotton, and some 1,300 tons of coal; number of hands employed, 325, of whom two-thirds are females.

This enterprise originated with several persons, principally at the south part of the town, among whom were Messrs Phillip Johnson, Mark Symonds, Robert Bayley, Charles T. James, Ralph and Thomas Huse, J. T. Loring, Albert Wood, and Samuel Brookings, and the heirs of the late William Bartlett, Sen., who subscribed at once half of the original amount with which it was at first proposed to commence operations, (\$30,000,) and subsequently added to this sum. Some Boston capital was drawn in, which justified the enlargement of the mill, and stock was paid in to the amount of its present capital, which was divided into 2,500 shares of \$100 dollars each.

The annual meeting of stockholders is held on the third Monday in February. Charles J. Brockway, *Treasurer*.

GLOBE STEAM MILL.

Situated on Federal street, near Water: incorporated March, 1845: capital of \$320,000, having 800 shares of par value, \$400 each: manufactures jeans and printing cloths, producing 4,000,000 yards annually, and employing 100 males, and 275 females. The engine is rated at 230 horse power; spindles in operation, 13,392, and looms, 384, consuming annually 1,600 tons of coal, and 704,000 pounds of cotton. The building is 320 feet long, and 50 feet wide; four stories high.

* Before the machinery was put into the upper stories of this mill, a room was selected as the most commodious in town, in which the Hon. Daniel Webster addressed the citizens of Newburyport, prior to the fall elections of 1844, (November 7.) The weave-room was capable of seating 5000 people.

Water is introduced into this mill from a pond lying beyond the cemetery, on the southerly side of the turnpike.

The prime originators of this company were Messrs. John Porter, James Reed, Charles H. Coffin, John Balch, and Mark Symonds. The original capital stock was but \$200,000; but in 1846, the company made 400 new shares, of value, \$200 each, thus increasing the capital stock \$120,000.

Annual meeting of stockholders, second Monday in May. John Porter, *Treasurer*.

OCEAN STEAM MILL.

Situated on the corner of Kent and Monroe streets: was incorporated in 1845, with a capital stock of \$160,000; divided into 400 shares, of \$400 each. The product is principally printing cloth, of which 2,000,000 yards are made annually. The number of hands employed is 170, of which 60 are males; number of spindles, 8,784; looms, 208, consuming 850 bales of cotton, and 900 tons of coal per year; engine 120 horse power.

The principal originators of this mill were Messrs. William C. Balch, Frederick J. Coffin, James Reed, Benjamin Saunders.

Annual meeting of stockholders, first Monday in May. James Reed, *Treasurer*.

NEWBURYPORT BRIDGE COMPANY.

Chartered in 1826: present Board of Directors, (1853,) Joseph Johnson, *President*; William Balch, Prescott Spalding, Josiah French; John Porter, *Clerk* and *Treasurer*.

ESSEX MERRIMAC BRIDGE.

Incorporated, 1792; charter expires in 1862. Micajah Lunt, *President*; Ebenezer Stone, *Treasurer* and *Clerk*.

CUSTOM HOUSE.

Collector of Customs, (1854,) James Blood; *Deputy Collector*, Thomas W. Burnham; *Naval Officer*, Nicholas Brown; *Surveyor*, Nathaniel Jackson; *Gauger*, George W. Hill; *Weigher and Measurer*, Enoch Hale, Jr.; *Inspector*, Charles Peabody; *Boatman*, Joseph Lowell.

MILITARY COMPANIES.

The "NEWBURYPORT ARTILLERY" Company was organized in 1778. The first officers were Thomas Thomas, *Captain*; David Coates, *Captain Lieutenant*; Michael Hodge, *First Lieutenant*; Samuel Newhall, *Second Lieutenant*.

In 1794, by the union of this company with one in Amesbury, a battalion was formed, and subsequently a company belonging to Andover was annexed to this battalion. Since 1820, the company have performed camp duty in several towns in this State and New Hampshire.

This company are governed by a written constitution, regulating terms of membership, the choice of officers, specifying the duties of the several officers, &c. The 19th Article is one which might be copied with advantage by associations other than military. We give it entire :

"Article 19. Every member shall keep by him a copy of these Articles, which he shall produce at the meeting in October, on penalty of twelve and a half cents."

This is well calculated to keep members to the point in debate. The 20th Article shuts the door on frivolous or ill-natured motions to reconsider. It reads :

"No vote passed by the company shall be repealed or reconsidered, unless there be a greater number present than when the same was adopted, and unless by a majority of the whole company."

In 1844 the name of the company was changed to that of the Washington Light Guard. In 1852 this name was exchanged for that of the "Cushing Guard." Their motto, adopted at their *seventy-fifth* anniversary, (February, 1853,) is "Prepare for War, but pray for Peace."

December, 1853, the City Government voted to purchase the gun house, by Frog pond, for an armory, for the use of the Cushing Guard.

In 1800 the "Washington Light Infantry Company" was formed under Captain Abraham Perkins, Lieutenant Charles Jackson,* and

* Now Judge Jackson, of Boston.

Ensign Nicholas Tracy. Their motto was, "He led the fathers, and inspires the sons." In 1813 this company performed guard duty at Plum Island. In 1817 the company was dissolved, but re-formed the next year. In the journal of William G. White. Esq., we find the following record under date of May, 1834: "The Washington Light Infantry of this town, broke up last March, so that now there is only the Artillery Company that have a uniform in this town." This dissolution was final.

MASONIC LODGES, ETC.

Masonry was introduced into America, according to Masonic Chronology, July 30th, 5733,* when a Lodge was formed in Boston, by virtue of a commission from the then Grand Master in England. The Massachusetts Grand Lodge was established in Boston, December 27, 5769, and descended by Masonic transmission, from the Grand Master of Scotland. On the 19th of June, 5792, a Grand Masonic Union was formed by these two Grand Lodges, and all distinctions between ancient and modern Masons was abolished. The Lodges of Massachusetts, were divided into twelve Districts, each having a District Deputy Grand Master. The Lodges of Newburyport belonged to the second District; these were:

ST. JOHN'S, chartered in 1766, St. Peter's in 1772 and St. Mark's in 1803.

In 1790 a ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER was established in Newburyport, and in 1795 an ENCAMPMENT OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS was instituted. About 5825 a CONSISTORY was established here which had the power of conferring all the highest degrees of Masonry.

In the decline of Masonry throughout the country, some twenty-seven years since, the several bodies here participated; but the Order reckoned as its members, during its ascendancy, the names of some of the most intelligent, worthy and pious members of the community, including many of the clergy. For many years the Grand Royal Arch Chapter held their Annual meetings alternately at Boston and Newburyport, many of the highest officers belonging to the latter town.

* To reduce this to common time, call the 5 a 1; thus, 5733 Masonic time will be 1733, A. D.

St. Mark's Lodge is still sustained, and another, the St. John's, which had surrendered its charter, has recently received it again, and is now in operation.

ODD FELLOWS.

The *Quascacunquen Lodge*, (No. 89,) was instituted in Newburyport, March 7th, 1844; the charter being granted to Messrs. E. S. Stearns, George Emery, John Poole, S. K. Gilman, and C. A. Somerby.

Among the terms of membership, it is provided* that "the candidate shall be a believer in a Supreme Being, Creator, Preserver and Governor of all things. He shall not be under twenty-one years of age. He shall be a man of good moral character, * * * having some respectable known means of support, and exempt from all infirmities which may prevent his gaining a livelihood. * * * No person shall be admitted a member of this Lodge over fifty years of age, (except by card,) or paying annually one dollar extra over the usual fees.

"The initiation fee is ten dollars, and two dollars for each degree. * * In addition, every member pays to the general fund of the Lodge seventy-five cents per quarter. * * There are two funds connected with the Lodge, the 'widows and orphans' fund,' which consists of specific contributions and donations, with all fines and forfeitures, and the interest of all funds invested by the Trustees. The 'general fund' consists of all moneys not belonging to the widows and orphans' fund. The Lodge pays out annually between six and seven hundred dollars. Benefits, in case of sickness of a member, or death in his family, are graduated and paid according to the degree which he has attained, and consequently in proportion to the fees paid in by him. The punctual attendance of officers, at the regular or special meetings, is enforced by a fine for absence.

"No smoking or refreshments except water, are allowed in the Lodge rooms."

The number of members rose, soon after the organization of the Lodge, to about three hundred; it is now something less than that.

The Merrimac Encampment, (No. 7,) was formed under a charter

* "Constitution and Bye-Laws of Q. L., I. O. O. F."

from the Grand-Encampment of Massachusetts, granted to E. S. Stearns, George Emery, P. K. Hills, T. H. Lovel, Gilbert Watson, Dexter Dana, and John Huse. Average number of members, forty.

THE MARINE SOCIETY.

The origin of the Marine Society of Newburyport, which has for so long a period exerted a beneficent influence on the mercantile interests of the town, is to be found in the voluntary association of six individuals, who met on the 5th of November, 1772, and agreed to form an association for the purpose of better securing the interests of shipmasters, obtaining information relative to the navigation of this vicinity, and forming a fund for the assistance of decayed shipmasters or their families; the latter part of their work was commenced by depositing with their Secretary and Treasurer, Michael Hodge, Esq., a guinea apiece for the purpose. On the 18th of the same month their numbers had increased to seventy, and a code of By-laws was adopted, which involved in substance these points: That members should consist only of persons who were, or had been shipmasters, except in extraordinary cases. That captains in command of a vessel should pay a certain sum per month to the funds, for the time they were absent, but that in case of shipwreck, capture,* or other misfortune, they might be excused from this tax, and, if the case required it, assistance to himself or family should be rendered. In case of the death of a member of the Society, his widow† or children should be assisted, if necessary, according to the means of the Society; that any person guilty of any notorious crime or vice, should be excluded from the Society and its benefits; that members in the practice of their profession should be careful in their observations of the variations of the needle, soundings, courses and distances, and of all remarkable things about the coast, and communicate in writing to the Society, such observations as he had made and deemed serviceable to the community.

In 1779 a committee appointed by the Society made a survey of

* In 1779 a large proportion of the members were excused on account of having been captured by the enemy.

† Many widows have been wholly or in part supported by this Society, and several orphans educated and maintained at their expense.

the Breaking Rock — a ledge about half a mile long, in the vicinity of Great Boar's Head, and lying about a mile from the shore. The danger to vessels from this ledge, which was covered at high tide, had been fatally experienced by many coasters. The report of the Society's committee gave such directions in regard to the navigation of this part of the coast as to make it thereafter safe. To their consideration, as combining the best nautical knowledge of the coast, was submitted a book of sailing directions, with the bearings and distance of headlands, &c., by Captain Furlong, which book was the foundation of that which has since grown into such repute as the American Coast Pilot, afterwards published by Edmund Blunt, Esq.

The amount disbursed by the Society in charity has exceeded \$20,000, and they are now paying annually \$900 to the widows of deceased members. The par value of the funds and building is rising of \$23,000. The charter of incorporation was obtained in 1777. The nucleus of a cabinet of curiosities was gathered, but the decline of the shipping interest here has prevented any considerable enlargement. The building owned by the Society is on State street.

Captain Joseph P. Russel, who had been a member of the Society for twenty-eight years, donated to it \$2,000.

The MERRIMAC HUMANE SOCIETY was instituted for the purpose of extending inquiries, collecting facts, and aiding in the rescue or resuscitation of persons subject to accidents, particularly drowning. They were stimulated to this from the frequent occurrence of accidents on the Merrimac, and deaths by shipwreck, and otherwise, at Plum Island.

The persons named in the act of incorporation, (March 7, 1804,) are Micajah Sawyer, M. D., Dudley A. Tyng, and Ebenezer Stocker, Esqs., Dr. Nathaniel Bradstreet, William Woart, Rev. Thomas Cary, Rev. Samuel Spring, Rev. John Andrews, Rev. Daniel Dana, Rev. Isaac Smith, William Coombs, and Nicholas Johnston, Esqs., Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, Dr. Samuel Nye, and Rev. Joseph Dana, D. D.

This Society erected three huts on Plum Island, and published printed directions to mariners how to find them if cast ashore on the island. They also provided signal colors and lights, which were

placed in the care of the keeper of the light-houses, with suitable directions for use in case of vessels approaching under dangerous circumstances.

Grappling irons, inflaters, fumigaters, and electrical machines, were also kept on hand by the Society, for the purpose of facilitating the recovery of persons taken from the water and exposed to death. The Society still survives, but the houses erected on Plum Island were long since destroyed by the malicious or reckless frequenters of the island.* They lasted, however, quite a number of years.

The present officers of the Society are Hon. Dennis Condry, *President*; Francis Todd, Esq., *Vice President*; Ebenezer Moseley, Esq., *Corresponding Secretary*; Moses Pettingill, *Recording Secretary*; Captain Paul Simpson, (deceased 1854,) *Treasurer*; Rev. Daniel Dana, D. D., R. S. Spofford, M. D., Hon. Ebenezer Moseley, Edward S. Rand, Captain Francis Todd, Hon. Dennis Condry, Hon. Henry Johnson, Captain Charles Hodge, John Harrod, Esq., Moses Pettengill, Esq., Ebenezer Stedman, Esq., *Trustees*.

Mr. William Coombs, named in the act of incorporation, was one of the Vice Presidents of the Society, and was awarded a gold medal by the trustees for his heroic act in saving a child of Mr. Paul Plummer, who had fallen from a raft into a depth of water between six and seven feet, near Coombs's wharf. Mr. Coombs, though then *seventy-six* years of age, immediately leaped into the water, and succeeded in rescuing the boy.

Mr. Coombs was for many years President of the Marine Society of Newburyport; was a Representative to the State Legislature; a Trustee of Dummer Academy; a founder of the Massachusetts Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, &c., &c. From an early age he followed the maritime profession, till near the age of

* In 1851 was erected a new relief hut, differently situated from those erected by the Humane Society, being five miles from the hotel, and about three-fourths of a mile north-west of Emerson's Rocks, and but one hundred and fifty yards from the shore. This house is kept provided with dry fuel, matches, and straw bedding, with two good lanterns, (a donation from Mrs. Moses Emory;) Captain J. Small, who resides on the Island, having charge of the hut and its contents, lighting the warning-lamps in heavy weather. Since the erection of this hut, there have been three wrecks near it.

forty. His last voyage was performed in the year 1775, and was undertaken just before the commencement of hostilities, for the purpose of obtaining from the island of Guadeloupe a supply of arms and ammunition, such as he knew would be needed in the coming contest. The voyage was eminently a patriotic one, involving the risk of personal danger, if intercepted, and he surrendered his cargo to the town authorities on his return without any stipulated recompense. He died May 28, 1814, aged 78. A funeral sermon, from which the above facts are derived, was preached by his son-in-law, Dr. Daniel Dana, then pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and was published by request of that body.

HOWARD BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.

Instituted in 1818. Its object is to relieve the necessitous poor of the town. It has a fund, and has always been well sustained; annual collections are made in the various churches of the city, to aid the funds of this Society, either on "Thanksgiving day," or the Sabbath immediately preceding or following it.

GENERAL CHARITABLE SOCIETY.

The Charitable Society of Newburyport and vicinity, was organized Feb. 12, 1850, Mrs. N. B. Medberry being chosen First Directress, and Mrs. W. H. Wells, Secretary.

Its object is to extend aid to the suffering poor of the city, who are not otherwise provided for. To effect this perfectly, the city is divided into districts, each of which is under the particular charge of a committee, consisting of three ladies.

In cases demanding immediate help, this Society furnish direct assistance, in furnishing clothes, food and money; but the great point to which the efforts of the Society are directed, is to put those needing aid in a position to help themselves, and to rescue the children of the poor from ignorance, idleness and vice; to elevate the mass, by inspiring them with courage to seek the improvement of their condition, and to *help them to do it*.

THE NEWBURYPORT MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1818, for the purpose of promoting harmony among the regular members of the medical profession; availing

themselves of each other's experience, and the discouragement of empiricism in all its forms. The members have been Chas. Coffin, John Bond, Oliver Prescott, Nath'l Bradstreet, Nathan Noyes, Lawrence Sprague, Richard S. Spofford, Jona. G. Johnson, Sam'l W. Wyman, Henry C. Perkins, Josiah Atkinson, Enoch Cross, E. P. Grosvernor, J. H. Sawyer.

The eight last named are now in practice.

Numerous associations, religious, benevolent, &c., connected with particular denominations or parishes, and more or less local and limited in their character, exist, which we have not thought necessary to allude to, they not being sufficiently extended in their influence to give character to the place.

DUMMER ACADEMY.

Though situated in the parish of Byfield, Newbury has been the resort of Newburyport youth, from its first institution to the present time; and is therefore properly placed among those educational influences which have given character to the young men of this town. It was founded by William Dummer, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Massachusetts, who at his decease devised his whole estate in Newbury, for the endowment of a free grammar school, and the erection of a school-house. The estate consisted of a farm, upon which the school-house was built. It was first opened in 1763 — just one year before the incorporation of Newburyport. The execution of the will was originally committed to Nathaniel Dummer, Thomas Foxcraft, and Charles Chauncey; but in 1782, the latter gentleman being the only executor living, the Legislature appointed a Board of Trustees to manage the Fund, and the following gentlemen were incorporated as "Trustees of Dummer Academy:"—Jeremiah Powell, Benj. Greenleaf, Jonathan Greenleaf, Rev. Joseph Willard, (President of Harvard College), Rev. Charles Chauncey, Rev. Moses Parsons, Rev. John Tucker, Rev. Thomas Cary, Samuel Moody, (the Preceptor,) William Powell, Dr. Micajah Sawyer, Dummer Jewett, Samuel Osgood, Nathaniel Tracy, and Richard Dummer, — nearly all Newburyport men. Their successors have continued to have the control of the Academy.

Dummer has always ranked high as a classical school, and during

the first half century of its existence, there were constantly more applicants for admission than could be accommodated, Mr. Samuel Moody's fame as a teacher greatly assisting the reputation of the Academy. He was succeeded by Rev. Isaac Smith, Dr. Benjamin Allen, Rev. Abiel Abbott, Hon. Samuel Adams, Nehemiah Cleaveland, and others. Mr. Cleaveland took charge as Preceptor in 1821, and continued in that office until 1840, when he resigned. In the autumn of 1848, there was a general gathering of the "Sons of Dummer," a dinner was had, speeches were made, and a silver pitcher, suitably inscribed, was presented to Mr. Cleaveland, the teacher to whom most of this generation are indebted for their kindly remembrances of Dummer.

In 1822 an Association was formed among the graduates of Dummer, for the purpose of cultivating and preserving their early friendships, originating in this institution; and also to accumulate a fund for the establishment of prize scholarships. The "Sons of Dummer," as the association was called, embraced many citizens of Newburyport, and among those most interested in its formation, we find the names of Hon. Dudley Atkins Tyng, LL. D., of this town, who was for many years President, as were afterward Hon. Nathan Noyes, M. D., Hon. Jeremiah Nelson, and Hon. E. S. Rand. Mr. Rand resigned his office in 1845. Dr. J. G. Johnson is the present head of this association.

ECCLESIASTICAL SKETCHES.

The ecclesiastical history of this place and vicinity presents some peculiar features, which can best be shown in a general sketch of the successive churches formed, and their connection with each other and their parent root, the First Church in Newbury. This was for sixty-three years the only church in Newbury.* In 1698 a church in what is now West Newbury, was organized with the Rev. Samuel Belcher as the minister. This church, like several subsequently formed, violently tore itself away from the parent stock, after having

* A small Baptist church was organized in 1682, but being few in numbers, and of small means, no minister was settled among them, nor is there any evidence extant that any of the ordinances were observed by this ephemeral church. It died ere it reached maturity.

for a long series of years sought for a peaceable and honorable dismission from the First Church, from whose meeting-house many of them were resident a distance of six or seven miles. This meeting-house was built on the "plains." Subsequently a difficulty arose among themselves about its removal, which resulted in the formation of an Episcopal church, the parent of St. Paul's.

With these, the community, though illy accommodated, were obliged to be content until 1725, when the Third Congregational church was formed, (now worshipping in Pleasant street,) by those who found it inconvenient to meet with the other parishes, or were "not edified" by the ministry of their respective pastors. The formation of this church was considered as objectionable and as unnecessary by those already established, as was the formation of the second and the offshoot of Queen Ann's chapel. Yet notwithstanding the difficulty they experienced in procuring a separate organization, they, in their turn, became spiritual monopolists, and in conjunction with the First Church in Newbury endeavored to prevent the formation of the First Presbyterian Society; * refusing, to that end, to give a regular dismission to thirty-eight of their number, who withdrew during the ministry of their first pastor, Mr. Lowell, for the purpose of uniting with the Presbyterians. They were, however, received by the latter, who were mostly dissentients from the Rev. Christopher Toppan.† The Third Religious Society in Newburyport (Titcomb street) was a branch from the first, which settled the Rev. Thomas Cary simultaneously with the selection of Mr. Marsh as the pastor of the third. This separation was perfectly amicable, a pleasant variety in the retrospect already taken.

The Fourth Church (Temple street) was not so fortunate in its first establishment. Its original members consisted of individuals who withdrew from the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Murray, of the

* A vote of the church, passed December 21, 1763, reads thus: "*Inasmuch as they profess themselves Presbyterians, we will by no means encourage their being empowered, [to act as a separate parish,] but leave the matter to the General Court.*"

† From the Toppan family of Newbury, descended the late Senator Toppan of Ohio, and the well-known brothers Arthur and Lewis Tappan, of New York. Several branches of the family have substituted Tappan for the original orthography of the name.

Presbyterian church, for the purpose of settling the Rev. Charles W. Milton among them as their minister. For some time they met in a private house for worship, and in 1793 renounced the government of the Presbyterian church, and soon after erected a meeting-house, formed an independent Congregational church and secured the services of Mr. Milton as their pastor. A few years later the Presbyterian Society was again divided by a schism in its members, the occasion being a difference of opinion in regard to the settlement of a minister; the majority deciding in favor of Rev. Dr. Dana, and the minority withdrawing for the purpose of organizing a second Presbyterian church, under the pastoral care of the Rev. J. Boddily, who was installed in June, 1797, in the house where the same church now worships, (Harris street.) This last division left the Federal street church in a somewhat perplexed condition; the clerk and treasurer both being of the minority party, the First Presbyterian Church was left "without records, files or funds." The church files were subsequently restored by the courtesy of the Rev. John Giles, the successor of Mr. Boddily. The dissentients in this instance had proposed some compromise measures, which were not accepted, but after the first period of excitement, the most friendly relations were maintained between these churches of the same order. In the bosom of the Second Presbyterian Society, originated the movement which resulted in the formation of the Whitfield Congregational Church.

Neither the Baptist nor Methodist churches are necessarily linked with the preceding, and their history will be found under their appropriate heads.

The Roman Catholic denomination also comes late in the ecclesiastical history of the town, (1843,) and is not of native growth; and though it has risen within the short space of ten years to the number of fifteen hundred souls, it exhibits all the features of an exotic. Its members being almost exclusively of foreign birth, no appreciable loss or gain, numerically considered, has taken place between this church and the Protestant sects with which it is surrounded. The denomination has been exceedingly fortunate in the resident pastors of the church, whose influence has been most judiciously exercised in all matters pertaining to good neighborhood and good citizenship.

The Sabbath schools now usually attached to the several churches were first established here in 1817. The children were then gathered indiscriminately from all parts of the town, and collected into one school, which was held in the Court House. Subsequently other schools of a similar character were commenced at the southern and northern extremities of the town, which were continued until the plan was adopted of appending them to the various churches as they now exist. In 1830, an infant Sabbath school was taught in Bartlett's building, at the foot of Market street.

The PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, the present representative of which is St. Paul's, originated in Newbury about the year 1712. The following appear to have been the circumstances which led to the organization of the Church. The inhabitants of what was called the West precinct of Newbury were divided among themselves as to the location of their meeting-house, the district being so widely, though not thickly settled, as to render it impossible that all could be accommodated, by having the meeting-house near their own dwellings. At a meeting of the parish, it was finally voted to have the meeting-house on Pipe Stave Hill, while a respectable minority refused to coincide with this vote, and proceeded to the erection of a building for the better accommodation of themselves and families; on what is called the Plains, where the original parish meeting-house stood. Had they been allowed unmolested to procure and settle a minister, it is probable they would have chosen one of the prevailing denomination; but the stronger party at the Hill persisted in taxing them for the support of the minister there, the Rev. Mr. Belcher, which naturally led the people at the plains to look about them and see what legal redress remained to them under these circumstances. Retaining the name of the Congregational denomination, there was none; the law expressly providing that the majority of the parish might decide on the location of the meeting-house, and that every person in the parish should be taxed for the support of the same; but the alternative was presented, of declaring for some other form of church government, when they might hope to be exempt from this onerous taxation, from which they had petitioned time and again to be released. The result was that twenty-two of the residents at the plains, declared themselves for the Church of England—

being satisfied that in making this change, they should sacrifice none of those evangelical principles which they had been taught to revere. From the frequent petitions sent to the General Court, these parish difficulties were well known in Boston, and Dr. Coleman, then of the Brattle street church in that town, addressed a letter on the subject to Dr. Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, Nov. 17, 1712, in which he declares that "these persons (the dissentients) seek only to save their tax, and are utterly ignorant of the church they declare for." This statement appears perfectly gratuitous, and made rather in that kind of "pet" which he felt at the result of the difficulties in Newbury, and which he endeavored to affix upon the dissentients. There existed no reason why they should be "utterly ignorant," while there were many why they should be well-informed. The very troubles which afflicted the parish, were a means of turning their attention to the forms, discipline and faith of other churches, and the supposition that the materials of information were not to be found among them is absurd. Many of them were emigrants or immediate descendants of emigrants from England,* and, as persons of ordinary intelligence, could not fail to be acquainted with its faith and formula. As early as 1811 they had enjoyed for a season the ministry of the Rev. M. Lampton, through whom they must, if not before, have been made acquainted with the tenets of the Church. In an answer which Governor Dudley makes to one of their petitions, to be released from the payment of taxes, for the support of a public worship in which they did not participate, we find that a Mr. Harris from Boston, a minister of the Church of England, preached for them occasionally after Mr. Lampton left, and until a minister could be sent to them from England. Governor Dudley gave it as his opinion, and desire, that the Episcopalians should not be taxed by

* From the Puritans arriving first, and giving a name to Plymouth Colony, a confused idea seems to have arisen — and prevails even in the minds of some historians, that *all* the early emigrants were Puritans — which is far from correct: many who had followed the first settlers of Plymouth, had been members, and retained an affectionate interest in the Church of England. Even of that Puritanic band, including Francis Higginson, (an ancestor of Rev. T. Wentworth Higginson, late of this town), Bancroft says: — "They did not say 'Farewell, Babylon! farewell, Rome! but Farewell, DEAR ENGLAND!'" 1 vol. p. 347.

the second parish; but it was not until July of 1722, nearly twelve years later, that official power effectually interfered for their protection, and *legal* freedom insured them in the unmolested maintenance of their chosen form of worship. The Rev. Henry Lucas arrived from England, and took charge of the parish, in the summer of 1715; and was succeeded, after his death, which occurred in August, 1720, by the Rev. Matthias Plant, (in 1722.) All now went on harmoniously for a few years, until the "water-side people" proposed to build a church nearer to the business centre of the town, which awakened a prophetic apprehension among the original founders, that the two churches could not be maintained, and that Queen Ann's Chapel—the church on the plains—would suffer by this rival. The frame of St. Paul's was, however, raised in 1738, principally by the joint efforts of the Rev. Mr. Plant and a layman, Joseph Atkins, Esq., who each gave fifty pounds towards it. It was not used for public service till 1740. Immediately a difficulty arose, from the circumstance of two congregations with but one minister, which was for a while allayed by Mr. Plant officiating alternately at both churches, and was afterwards more satisfactorily adjusted, by his consenting to hire an assistant, Mr. Edward Bass, with whose help constant services might be performed at both places. But this arrangement did not secure all the harmony desirable, and subsequently an altercation arose between the proprietors of St. Paul's and Mr. Plant, the occasion of which was as follows: The proprietors claimed the right of receiving into or excluding from the pulpit any minister whom they chose; while Mr. Plant insisted, in accordance with the usage of the Church of England, that *he* should have the control of the pulpit. This controversy was not adjusted until 1751, when the proprietors yielded, and Mr. Plant was regularly inducted into the Rectorship of St. Paul's. He enjoyed the fruits of his triumph but two years; he deceased April 2d, 1753, and was succeeded by his late assistant, Mr. Bass, who continued to officiate once a month in Queen Ann's Chapel, until 1766, when public service in that building was abandoned, part of the congregation uniting with St. Paul's, and others returning to the congregational form which their fathers had abandoned. Thus deserted, the edifice went to decay, and finally fell down through feebleness and the weight of years. The bell, which had been

presented to the church by the Bishop of London, now hangs in the belfry of the Belleville meeting-house. St. Paul's was rebuilt in 1800, the corner-stone being laid on the 22d of May, with Masonic ceremonies, by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

The Rev. James Morse, D. D., succeeded Bishop Bass in the Rectorship of St. Paul's, and remained in this office till his death in 1842, a period of thirty-nine years. He was devotedly attached to the Church, and was a gentleman much esteemed in all the relations of life. He was a native of Newburyport, and graduated at Harvard in 1800. He was succeeded by Messrs. J. S. Davenport and E. A. Washburn. The present rector is Rev. William Horton.

The FIRST CHURCH IN NEWBURYPORT was the third in Newbury, being organized in 1725, and the Rev. John Lowell settled as pastor the year succeeding; its history is one of peculiar interest, presenting in its early records, the simple idea of a primitive church, intent only on fulfilling their appointed work of making themselves and the world better.

As early as 1726, we find organized within the church, a voluntary association of twenty-four persons, who having taken "into serious consideration the decaying and languishing state of religion," subscribed their names to six articles, by which they agreed to meet once a month, "none to absent themselves unless on some extraordinary occasion; and first to redress in themselves and families any irregularities, and next to admonish their neighbors of the same." Especially were their efforts to be directed to the observance of the Sabbath, and finally to meet deputations once in three months from the other churches, (if they would send any,) to consult upon the interests of religion and morality. Under date of January 2, 1727, they voted to request the "honorable justice to see that the ferrymen in and about Newbury, carry no one over the ferries on the Lord's day," and a month later agreed to a measure much neglected by the churches in these latter days, namely, "to visit the young communicants of the church, and endeavor to counsel and advise them to continue in the sincere practice of those duties that are incumbent on them by their public profession of Christ."

And in pursuance of their desire to assist their brethren in diffi-

culties, they appointed a committee on one occasion, "to converse with the ye wife of ——— concerning the disturbance she gives him, when he is going to perform family prayers." In regard to the ferrymen, either the "honorable justice" did not comply with their request, or the ferrymen were impervious to argument, for a little later we find them directing one of their number "to *inform* ye ferrymen that they carry no person on ye Lord's day, except on extraordinary occasions." Three of their number were also appointed to the duty of going "to ye tavern by ye water-side," and there to read the law of the province, respecting "the order required to be kept in their houses." Requesting also the constable "to walk ye streets after the evening exercise is over on the Lord's day, that the Sabbath may not be *prophaned*."

After the arrival of Mr. Whitfield and the drawing away a portion of the church by the young preacher Adams,* it was determined, "upon consideration of the difficulties of the present day, in respect of religion in this place, and particularly of the divisions that have lately arisen among us," &c., that a day of fasting be appointed. But the evil spirit of schism was not cast out, and the breach rather widened than contracted, and peace was not restored until the seceding members were received into the communion of the Presbyterian church.

When the first parish in Newburyport was set off, in accordance with their repeated request, by the General Court in 1735, the common law of the province gave the Society a legal supervision over the precinct thus divided from the first and second parishes in Newbury. The dividing line between the first parish in Newbury, and the one thus established, was Federal street. The new parish, in accordance with their privileges, sustained schools and transacted much other business which would now be left to the management of the town, or city. Their first pastor, the Rev. John Lowell, continued their minister till his death in 1767. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Cary in 1768, who performed the pastoral office for twenty years, when the Rev. John Andrews was settled with him as a colleague, and succeeded him as sole pastor on his death in 1808. The present meeting-house which this Society occupies on Pleasant

* See account of First Presbyterian Church.

street, and which is a model of architectural beauty, was erected in 1801. The Society had previously worshipped in a church standing in what is now Market Square, and which was removed, (being much decayed,) soon after the Society abandoned it. The Rev. John Andrews, D. D., continued his ministry during forty-two years. He resigned his office in May, 1830, "welcoming his successor (Rev. T. B. Fox,) as his friend, and gracefully retiring from the pulpit to the pew, an example of Christian humility as rare as it was dignified."

In an appendix to the ordination sermon preached by Charles Lowell, D. D., of Cambridge, on the settlement of Mr. Fox, we find the report of the Committee appointed by the Council called on that occasion; they say the dissolution of the connection between the late pastor and the people "was mutual, harmonious and honorable to both parties; * * and that they should be doing themselves, and the friends of Dr. Andrews injustice, if they did not express their sincere and entire respect and esteem for his character; for his exemplary life, for his assiduous and conscientious ministry and eminently Christian deportment towards the Society." Mr. Andrews died August 17, 1845, aged 81, leaving a large circle of mourning friends, including many outside of his parish relations. He was a native of Hingham, and graduated at Harvard in 1786. The successors of Mr. Fox, have been T. W. Higginson and Charles Bowen.

The FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH was formed on the 3d of January, 1746, by nineteen persons who had formally withdrawn from the first parish in Newbury. These, with others, had met for worship for more than two years previously, in a small building erected on High street, (then called Norfolk,) below Federal, a young graduate of Harvard University, Joseph Adams, officiating as their pastor. This whole movement for a separate religious establishment, was strenuously resisted by the pastor and church of the first parish, who designated their proceedings as "irregular and disorderly." By the advice of Whitfield, the new church ("the Separatists," as they were called by those who remained attached to the previously existing societies) extended an invitation to the Rev. Jonathan Parsons to become their pastor. The consummation of this connection was also opposed by the pastor of the Third Church

in Newbury, but without success ; and he was accordingly installed on the 19th of March, in the same year.

The *form* of installation was certainly original and unique. The services having been commenced by the singing of a hymn, Mr. Parsons, having mentioned the reasons *against* his settlement, made a final proposition to the assembled church, to see if they still wished him to remain as their pastor. The vote was taken by the clerk, and passed unanimously in the affirmative. The pastor elect then said, "In the presence of God and these witnesses, I take this people to be my people ;" and the clerk replied, speaking in the name of the rest, "In the presence of God and these witnesses, we take this man to be our minister." Mr. Parsons then went on and preached the sermon he had prepared, no other ceremonies whatever (except prayer) being observed. The first platform agreed upon by the church was designed to be but temporary ; though containing the main features of Presbyterianism, the church was not yet united to a Presbytery, but was styled "independent." They had experienced great and unwarrantable difficulties in exercising their right of withdrawal from the first parish, which made them regard Congregationalism, seeing it as they did sustained by the favor of the civil power, with any thing but friendly feelings. On the 7th of April succeeding the installation of Mr. Parsons, they completed the organization of the church, by the choice of six ruling elders, and in the following September, voted to unite with the Presbytery of Boston ; retaining, however, the right to choose their elders annually. Though now recognized as a "regular Presbyterian Church," — their numbers being also largely augmented by a considerable body who subsequently withdrew from the third parish, and others, — the first and third parishes still insisted on the right to tax them, for the support of public worship in those places ; and their petitions to the Legislature, to be released from the payment of taxes, as laid on them by the previously existing societies, were met by remonstrances from these bodies, and their petitions were again and again denied. Thus for a long time the members of the Presbyterian society had a double burden to sustain ; the law compelling them to pay taxes for the maintenance of the churches from which they had withdrawn, and their own choies

and engagements demanding the support of their own church and pastor.

Shirley, who was then Governor of Massachusetts, was rather favorably inclined to the petitioners, and in one instance, at least, commended their request to the especial attention of the General Court. But other counsels prevailed; the representations of their opponents, who hesitated not to impute unworthy motives to them, gained credit, and the rights of conscience were sacrificed to ancient prejudice, apparently founded on the maxim that "might makes right." Some of the oppressed band absolutely refused to pay the tax laid by the first parish, preferring to spend their days in prison, to submitting to what they believed an unjust demand. To make their case more intolerable, by contrast, they saw the Episcopalian, the Baptist, and the Quaker, released from these very taxes from which the Legislature denied them exemption. The excuse offered by the Congregationalists for the extreme measures pursued towards the Presbyterians was, that the "parish property was pledged for the support of the parish minister," and of course if any considerable number refused to pay their proportion, the burden fell heavier on those that remained. This was true, and a mitigating circumstance in their favor; but they sought no accommodation, and would listen to no compromise, nor take measures for the future release of those who desired another form of worship; constantly denying the right of any to differ from themselves. But if the one party was tenacious and grasping, the other was as determined never quietly to yield the inalienable rights of conscience. The Presbyterian society actually entertained the idea of presenting their case to George II and his Council, and only desisted, from the consideration that such a step might endanger the Charter of Massachusetts, by invoking the interference of the king. It had, however, one beneficial effect; the Legislature, finding that they had already written to the Attorney General of England, and fearing the effects of their application, granted them some concessions, — unwillingly and ungraciously enough, — but still concessions of right, so that a stepping-stone was prepared for obtaining others. But it was not till 1794, more than forty years afterwards, that they were finally and legally released, by a General Act, bestowing ecclesiastical freedom on the town from paying taxes to the Congregational interest.

We have been favored with an examination of the original records of these seceding brethren from 1745 to 1795, and they certainly exhibit, during the period of their first trials, a pure desire for the restoration of the vitalizing truths of the gospel, from which, they believed, "there was a warping as originally adhered to," in the Congregational churches. Formally repudiating Armenianism and Antinomianism, they embraced anew the peculiar doctrines of the Reformation, as based on the Confession of Faith and Larger Catechism adopted by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

By these records it appears that from the organization of the church to 1798 inclusive there were 461 members admitted, an annual average gain of fifty.

The history of the First Presbyterian Society, as illustrating the progress of correct opinions on religious freedom, is one of the most instructive which the records of the State have preserved, which induced us to give it more space than our limits will well warrant.

The meeting-house now occupied by this Society was erected in 1756.

In this house of worship is a remarkably fine whispering gallery; we know of none which compares with it, save that of St. Paul's in London, which this fully equals. Here also are preserved the bones of Whitfield.*

The pastors of the church have been Jonathan Parsons, John Murray, Daniel Dana, D. D., Samuel P. Williams, John Proudfit, D. D., Jonathan F. Stearns, and the present Rev. A. G. Vermilye. The second is included in the Biographical Sketches.

The Religious Society now known as the BELLEVILLE CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY, and which was incorporated in 1808, under the name of the "Fourth Religious Society" in Newbury, was set off as a separate parish in 1761, as the fifth in Newbury. Its formation was opposed by the second (now first in West Newbury) and third (now first in Newburyport) parishes. Incipient measures were taken to raise a meeting-house as early as November, 1761; the parish occupying the deserted building called Queen Ann's Chapel, until this was accomplished (1763). The Rev. Oliver Noble

* See Biographical Notice, "Whitfield."

(August, 1762) accepted a unanimous call of the parish to settle with them as their minister ; he had previously preached to them in the old chapel on the plains. Mr. Noble continued with the parish, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, until about the years 1773-4. In December of the later year, we find the parish voting that "it appears to us that near one third part of the polls and estates are gone over to the Church of England ;" and "that the state of the parish has much altered since the settlement of Mr. Noble." A committee was appointed at this meeting (December 13,) to "confer with Mr. Noble and acquaint him with the facts." And at an adjourned meeting, it was voted that the committee "farther acquaint Mr. Noble with the state of the parish, and that his proposals was not like to answer any good end." He however continued to preach to them until 1784, when the connection ceased : and the parish remained without a settled minister until 1808. "In the spring of 1808, a number of individuals belonging to the parish met for prayerful consultation, on the subject of organizing a church, and after several solemn conferences agreed to form themselves into a Christian church, by dedicating themselves to God in a church state, and by obedience to the ordinances of the Gospel." A mutual covenant was signed, and at a meeting of the church (April 2) it was voted, "that they unite with the parish in extending an invitation to the Rev. James Miltimore to settle with them in the work of the ministry."

Mr. Miltimore was installed on the 27th of April, since which period internal harmony has distinguished the church, and its intercourse with the neighboring churches has been eminently pleasant and peaceful. Mr. Miltimore preached to the Society for nearly a quarter of a century, and until he retired from the labors of the pulpit. He was succeeded by the Rev. J. C. March, who continued with them as their pastor until his decease in September, 1846. Mr. March was a native of Newburyport. His successor is the present pastor, Rev. Daniel T. Fisk. By a division of Newbury in 1819, this parish became the "Second."

In 1816, the old meeting-house was struck by lightning (April 1) and entirely consumed ; nothing being saved but the cushions, books, and lower window frames. The only fire-engine available was small, not possessing sufficient force to throw water, of which but

little could be obtained, on the belfrey.* The present building stands on the site occupied by the old one, and its general style of architecture is the same.

The SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH was formed in 1768. The Society was incorporated as the "Third Religious Society of Newburyport." Its origin was altogether a pleasant episode in the ecclesiastical history of the town; the persons proposing to form it having withdrawn from the First Society in consequence of a difference of opinion as to some of the important doctrines of Christianity, which the two candidates in view of the First Society entertained. The disagreement was unattended with any of that excitement which had marked the separation of some of the earlier churches, and as evidence of the amicable feeling which prevailed, we may note a vote of the First Church (January 18, 1768,) whereby they agreed to divide the church plate and stock between the seceding and remaining brethren. The First Church settled the candidate of their choice, Rev. Thomas Cary, and the Second Church (October 19, 1768,) theirs, the Rev. Christopher Bridges Marsh, the latter recognizing the Orthodox platform, so called, and the Society concurring unanimously in the choice of the church. Mr. Marsh died December 3, 1773, and the church was for the next four years without a settled pastor, when the Rev. Samuel Spring was invited to preach to them as a candidate. His answer to the first request of the church is dated "Ticonderoga, August 12th," in which he declines the invitation of the church, as incompatible with his engagements as chaplain in the army. On the conclusion of this engagement, he accepted the renewed request of the church, and was ordained its pastor in August, 1777, which relation he sustained till his death, which occurred March 4th, 1819, a period of nearly forty-two years. Dr. Spring was a man of fine talents, devoted piety, and untiring activity.†

The present pastor, Rev. Luther F. Dimmick, D. D., was ordained by the unanimous voice of the Church and Society, December 8th, 1819.

* Newburyport Herald.

† His son, the Rev. Gardiner Spring, D. D., is the oldest settled pastor in the city of New-York.

The first meeting-house was dedicated in September, 1768, standing nearly on the site of the present building, which was erected in 1827.

The FOURTH RELIGIOUS SOCIETY was incorporated in 1794. The church was formed principally by dissentients from the ministry of the Rev. John Murray, then pastor of the First Presbyterian Society. The withdrawing members met for some time at a private house, (Mr. Anthony Morse's,) in Milk street, the town refusing the use of the Town House for the purpose. The present house of worship was raised in 1793. "Yesterday," says the Essex Journal of June 12th, "the frame of a meeting-house sixty-seven feet by sixty, was raised in Temple street. It is designed for a handsome edifice, and, on the plan of the new meeting-house in Boston, it is to have two steeples in front. Previously to entering on the business, the throne of grace was pathetically addressed by the Rev. Mr. Milton, in the presence of a large number of spectators, after which the workmen engaged spiritedly in the laborious undertaking, which they accomplished without any accident intervening, to lessen the pleasure of the day, excepting a fall which Mr. William Davis of this town met with, though he is likely to do well, notwithstanding he fell between thirty and forty feet."

The first pastor of the church was the Rev. Charles W. Milton, who was installed into that office on the 20th of March, 1794, and continued with them till his death, a period of forty-three years. He was succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. Randolph Campbell.

The interior of the house was remodelled in 1845, making it one of the most neat, convenient and beautiful in the city.

Mrs. Margaret Atwood, who left a sum of \$1,500 for various charitable purposes, left some small legacies to this Society.

The SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH was organized by the Presbytery of Londonderry, October 29th, 1795, with thirty-three members; these individuals had withdrawn from the First Presbyterian church, being dissatisfied with the settlement over that body of the Rev. Daniel Dana, D.D. The Society was incorporated November 24th, 1796. The first pastor was the Rev. John Boddily, of Bristol, England, and a graduate of Lady Huntingdon's College. He was

installed June 28th, 1797. On his death, which occurred November 4th, 1802, he was succeeded by the Rev. John Giles, also of England, who occupied the pastoral office for twenty-one years, when declining health obliged him to relinquish its duties. In 1824 the Society, without the concurrence of the church, called as their minister, the Rev. William Ford, who was installed by the aid of a Congregational Council, August 11th. He remained but little over two years. In 1825 the Rev. Dr. Dana, who was then at Londonderry, (President of Dartmouth College,) accepted an invitation to this church, the original members of which, thirty years before, had seceded from the First Presbyterian church on account of his settlement. In 1845, just twenty years from the date of his settlement, Dr. Dana was at his own request released from the pastoral charge, the Presbytery of Newburyport being called in to advise on the occasion.

On July 15th, 1846, the Rev. W. W. Eells, of the Presbytery of Baltimore, was unanimously called as pastor by the Church and Society. The church having applied for, and been again received, (November 18,) under the care of the Presbytery of Londonderry, Mr. Eells was installed as pastor by that body. This church was based and now stands on the strictest Calvinistic platform of faith.

The BAPTIST CHURCH OF CHRIST in Newbury and Newburyport, was formed under many difficulties, and in the face of obstacles that would have disheartened less persevering or less conscientious persons. They had *not the same kind* of difficulties to encounter as had obstructed the growth and prosperity of some of the earlier churches of this vicinity; they had no legal hindrances, such as beset the Congregational and Presbyterian interests, but a more formidable opposition was to be met in the prejudices of the times and place. The denomination was new to this vicinity; there was no Baptist church in this or the neighboring township of Newbury. Some attempt was made by a few individuals as early as 1681 to form a church on these peculiar principles in Newbury, and they even went so far as to apply for assistance to the first church in Boston, who assented to their organization, but they were too few in numbers to maintain a separate existence.

The peculiarities of this denomination forced themselves, there-

fore, with all the intensity of novelty, on the settled habits and opinions of the community in which they were now to be first broached in a *practical* form. After some preliminary meetings held in May, 1804, a school-house at the south part of the town, then within the Newbury line, was procured for the use of the Society, and Mr. Joshua Chase preached the first sermon to a Baptist Society in this vicinity on the Sabbath of July 22d, 1804. The first persons ever baptized in Newburyport, were Stephen Goodwin, David Burbank, Benjamin Goodwin, Bart. Hurd, John Flood, Nathaniel Pettingell, and Mrs. Rebecca Dormon, on Sunday the 14th October, 1804.

The church was not regularly organized until the 2d of May, 1805. The young licentiate-preacher, Joshua Chase, having in the mean time received ordination, continued with them as their minister, until the engagement of the Rev. John Peak in the fall of 1805. Meetings were alternately held at the above named school-house (in Marlborough street,) and at a building on the plains, until Mr. Peak made it a condition of his permanent settlement among them, that he should preach in some central place in Newburyport. Previous to the erection of their meeting-house in Liberty street, the Society met for worship in a building called the "Tabernacle," situated on Temple street. In 1809 the Society took possession of the new brick meeting-house, which they had erected at the cost of over sixteen thousand dollars; but of which they were destined soon to be deprived by a calamity which involved the surrounding neighborhood in ruins. In 1811 the "great fire" consumed the house raised with such great exertion and toil, and after a seven years' struggle, the Society were thrown back, in a pecuniary sense, to their first starting-point.

Their pastor, Mr. Peak, immediately set out on a collecting tour, and by great exertions on his part, and the generosity of the communities which he visited, obtained a sufficient sum to rebuild a place for public worship. But now came the question of selecting a site for the new house, opinions being divided according to the residence of the members, as *they* were located north or south; and so vehement were those at the south part of the town in their desire to have the house located there, that they held *ex parte* meetings, declared themselves *the* church, cited the Rev. J. Peak to appear before them and resign his office of solicitor of funds, and on his

neglecting their citation, proceeded to the extremity of *excommunicating* him from the Christian privileges of the church ; all of which proceedings were disallowed and disapproved by a council subsequently called to settle the difficulties which had arisen, and assist in healing the lamentable divisions in the church. The council agreed "on approving the conduct of the pastor, and sustaining the course he had pursued."

The pastor and Deacon Henry Merrill had already purchased the lot of land on which the meeting-house is now situated, on Congress street, and the house of worship there was occupied by the Society in 1812, having met for worship in the interim at the Court House. The seceding party met together in "Joppa" for a year or two, with Mr. Nathan Ames as their preacher ; but, unable to maintain visibility, the organization which was deemed irregular was dropped. Thirteen of these individuals were formally excluded, for their disorderly proceedings, by the parent church. The meeting-house has been enlarged, and otherwise improved, since its erection.

Mr. Peak's successor, in 1818, was Rev. Hosea Wheeler, since which period, the following persons have occupied the pastoral office : Messrs. Nathaniel Williams, William B. Jacobs, Jonathan Aldrich, Albert N. Arnold, (who resigned for the purpose of connecting himself with a mission established in Greece,) and Nicholas Medberry. Rev. I. B. Lane is the present pastor.

FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH. The Methodist interest was commenced in Newbury, (now Newburyport,) in the year 1819, under the preaching and labors of the Rev. John Adams,* a member of the New England Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Up to 1825, this place was connected with the Salisbury Conference, when it was made a station under the charge of Mr. Adams ; the advent of Methodism into Newburyport was marked with much excitement, and not a little opposition. A "revival of religion" which accompanied the labors of Mr. Adams, and which exceeded in extent and interest any

* Familiarly called "Reformation John;" his life has recently been published, (1854,) in two volumes, and is principally autobiographical. He appears by this work to have had considerable psychological power, and to have been very conscious of it. He was eminently successful in his professional labors.

movement in the churches in this town since the days of Whitfield, elicited no sympathy from the existing churches ; though many of the converts subsequently became members of them.

In the fall of 1825 a meeting-house was built on Adelphia street, the Society having formerly met in a school-house on Marlborough street.

In 1826 the Rev. B. Othman was appointed* to the station, but removed the next year to the Second Methodist Episcopal church in Newburyport, which was organized in 1827.

In 1831, the Rev. Le Roy Sunderland,* was appointed preacher ; under his labors, a considerable revival of religion took place, the Missionary, Bible, Tract, Sabbath School and Benevolent (Temperance) Societies, were formed in the church, and a Sabbath School Library was collected.

The frequent change of pastors in the Methodist denomination, has prevented our obtaining a list of them.

The METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH of Newburyport was regularly organized by the Rev. B. Othman, June 20th, 1827. On the same day the meeting-house situated in Liberty street, and built under the superintendence of Mr. Othman, was dedicated. The original members were fifteen persons, formerly members of the Methodist Episcopal church in Newbury. The church made permanent and satisfactory progress during the six succeeding years of its existence, having in that time received an addition to their number of one hundred and fourteen. In the seventh year of their organization, being 1834, a "Four Days' Meeting" was appointed, when so great was the interest manifested, and so numerous the tokens of an awakening among the people to the interests of religion, that the meetings were continued twenty successive days, and fifty evenings, without other interruption than the regular meeting of the classes on one evening of each week. During this protracted meeting, one hundred and fifty were admitted as *probationers* into the church.

* Mr. Sunderland subsequently withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal connection, removed to New York, became the publisher of a paper, and has since become extensively known as a psychological lecturer. He now resides in Boston.

The faith and discipline of the church correspond with that generally adopted by the Methodist Episcopal denomination in the United States.

The seventh pastor of the church, Rev. Jacob Sanborn, has written on page 90 of the Church Records, this sensible suggestion, over a list of the funerals in the Society during the year 1836: "I judge it might be well for the preachers in this station to make an entry in this book of the funerals they attend, as it would be useful at the end of the year to call the attention of the congregation to the ravages of death, or in a sermon on the first Sabbath in the year."

The FIRST UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY was organized on the 26th December, 1834, by the following persons associated for that purpose: Messrs. John B. Greely, Austin George, Daniel W. Bailey, Albert Thompson, Gideon E. Leighton, William H. George, Richard Bartlett, and Stephen Kent, Jr.

The meeting-house was dedicated in 1840, but the recognition of the church did not take place until November 16, 1842. The recognition services were performed by the Rev. Sylvanus Cobb.

The following gentlemen have been the settled pastors of the Society, the last of whom now sustains that office: Revs. William M. Fernald, Darius Forbes, Edwin A. Eaton, James Shrigley, A. R. Abbot, Daniel M. Reéd.

The CHRISTIAN CHURCH was organized May 7, 1840, by a mutual covenant of ten persons, who met at a private residence, "and after prayer, and solemn dedication to God, covenanted to take the Holy Scriptures, especially the last will and testament of Jesus Christ, as the rule of their faith and practice," and were then acknowledged by Elder Daniel P. Pike, their first, only, and present minister, as a properly constituted Church. The commencement of this interest was at Belleville, Newbury, in 1838, when Mr. Pike, then minister of the Christian Church at Salisbury point, commenced holding evening meetings in Belleville, which were continued weekly until January, 1840, when meetings were commenced at a central location in Newburyport. In April, 1840, a room on Brown's square was obtained, and dedicated to the public worship

of God. In November, 1840, "a Presbytery form of government was adopted by this church, consisting of the pastor, three ruling elders, three deacons, six deaconesses, and a church clerk." The next year a Congregational form of government was adopted. The church is now included in the Rockingham Congregational Conference.

The church requires the adoption of strict temperance principles, by all its members; and refuses all fellowship with slaveholders.

In 1844-5 the neat and commodious building which the church now occupies, was erected. The present number of members is about 300.

ROMAN CATHOLIC. The first church organization of the Catholic denomination in Newburyport, was in May, 1843. There was then no church edifice erected, and this was deemed a missionary field. The first building occupied as a church, was the vestry of the Federal street church, which was removed to Charles street, where it was fitted up for temporary service. This station was occasionally visited by the Rev. William Clanaran, of Dover, N. H., and in May of 1848, the Rev. John O'Brien was appointed Resident Pastor of the church. He was shortly succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. Henry Lennon.

On the 27th of April, 1852, the corner-stone of a new church edifice was laid, in the presence of the Bishop, some twenty priests, and an immense concourse of people; the ensuing 17th of March the building was dedicated under the title of the Church of the Immaculate Conception. The style of architecture is decorated Gothic, and the interior is finished in an appropriate and pleasing correspondence with the exterior plan of the house.

The congregation numbers some fifteen hundred, including children. The church has on the average between 750 and 800 communicants, and a Sabbath school is maintained during the greater part of the year. Many of the usual attendants upon this church reside out of town, in West Newbury, Salisbury, &c.; some come even from Amesbury, the congregation gathering from all the contiguous country within walking distance.

"The fee-simple of the church property is vested in the Bishop of the Diocese for the Catholics of Newburyport and vicinity."

THE GREEN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH was organized on the 17th of May, 1846, by sixty-seven persons who withdrew from the First Baptist Church. The Rev. N. Medberry was installed as pastor on the 16th of June next ensuing. The church met for public worship in the Washington and Market Halls, until the erection of the neat and picturesque building, which the Society now occupy, in Green street, and which was dedicated on the 9th of February, 1848.

On December 23d, 1852, Mr. Medberry resigned the pastoral office, and the Rev. John G. Richardson was chosen as his successor, and installed September 8th, 1853.

SECOND ADVENT CHURCH. Organized December, 1848, under the pastoral care of Elder John Pearson, Jr.

The origin of this church may be traced to the winter of 1841-2, when the doctrine of the speedy Second Advent of Christ was preached here by Rev. Charles Fitch, Miller, and others. A considerable number of persons embraced the views presented, and united for the purpose of public worship, and their meetings were sustained until the latter part of the year 1844; at which time, in consequence of the passing of the specified date for the fulfilment of the great event for which they looked, and other adventitious circumstances, their meetings were discontinued; but in 1848 they again reunited, and have since maintained a distinct church organization. Connected with the church are a Sabbath school, Bible class, &c. Their present place of worship is Washington Hall, on the corner of State and Essex streets.

The peculiarities of their faith are the following:

"That there are but *two advents*, or appearances of the Saviour to this earth, and that both are personal and visible.

"That there will be a literal resurrection of the dead.

"That only those who are Christ's will be raised at his coming.

"That there will be a thousand years between the resurrection of the righteous and the wicked.

"That the reward promised the saints will be given at the second coming of Christ.

* * * * *

"That this earth renewed will be the saints' inheritance.

"That the Scriptures do not teach the *world's* conversion.

"That the Scriptures do not reveal the specific time of Christ's second coming, but do reveal events intimately connected with it,—making it the privilege and duty of the church to know when the advent is *near*.

"That the grand object of the Christian's hope is the Second Personal Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ."

On all other doctrines the church conform to those usually designated evangelical.

The WHITFIELD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH was organized January 1st, 1850. Stated preaching had been maintained in the Market Hall by the friends of this new interest for some fifteen months previously; the Rev. John E. Emerson, a native of this town, and a recent graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, officiating. Mr. Emerson was ordained as pastor on the 1st of January, 1850, but died in little more than a year after his settlement, on the 24th of March, 1851. He was succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. Samuel J. Spalding, on the 30th of June of the same year. The edifice on State street, in which the church now worship, was erected the next year, and was dedicated March 2d, 1852.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

When approaching the Biographical Department of this work, we felt that our labors were drawing to a rapid close, and that a few paragraphs would suffice to enumerate the most distinguished natives of Newburyport; but investigation quickly dispelled the illusion. Materials and subjects crowded upon our hands, until it was evident that to do justice to but a portion of the departed worthies of the town, would require a large volume of itself, and could in no satisfactory manner be sketched in a mere appendix at the close of a History. But it was too late to alter the plan of the work, and though we have endeavored to select those characters for limning which seemed most calculated to interest the reader, and inspire the young of this community to an imitation of the virtues and heroism of their ancestors, we have been compelled to omit a large list who might worthily have been included in these brief notices. There is ample margin for the biographer who delights in the portrayal of genius, to fill up the account at some future time.

[We understand that Joshua Coffin, Esq., author of the History of "Ould Newbury," has been collecting materials for this purpose, and designs to complete a full biographical work ere long. If he carries his intention into execution, we shall expect to see thorough justice done to the many distinguished men of this vicinity.]

It is to Newburyport that the heads of the professional departments have come for judges, divines, and physicians—for men of science and of mercantile sagacity; for of brave soldiers and distinguished civilians, Newburyport has more than supplied her share; and if these few pages have the effect of awakening the ambition of the young, and inducing any of them to aim at equalling,

if they may not hope to excel, the integrity, industry, courage, learning and piety of the names here recorded, we shall feel amply rewarded for the time and labor expended in collecting these brief remains of their useful and brilliant lives.

It has been well remarked by the author of the "American Biography,"* from whom we have made copious extracts, "that though the Revolution has incalculably increased and diffused the happiness of the people, yet before that time there was found in many parts of New England a degree of mental cultivation, a refinement and dignity of manners, and a liberal hospitality in the intercourse of society, which has not since, to say the least, been surpassed." And the writer justly adds, "the town of Newburyport once furnished a remarkable illustration of the truth of this observation; it having given to New England some of its most intelligent and distinguished jurists, merchants, and literary men. Several of these had formed associations of friendship at Harvard, and four members of one class, though not natives of the town, chose Newburyport as their residence, believing that in no part of the United States was an enlightened social intercourse better sustained or more rationally enjoyed, or a more frank and generous hospitality exhibited towards strangers."

THEOPHILUS PARSONS.

Probably no individual aided so much in attracting foreign talent to Newburyport, and giving tone to what already existed there, as THEOPHILUS PARSONS, whose perfect features the skill of Stuart has preserved to us; but who was the laborious artist of his own fame, as all who aspire to usefulness in life, or to a name which their countrymen "will not willingly let die," must be.

Theophilus Parsons was the third son of the Rev. Moses Parsons, of Byfield parish, Newbury. He was born the 24th of February, 1750. He was early placed at Dummer Academy, of which the celebrated "Master Moody" was then principal, and to whom Parsons was greatly indebted for the early development and right direction of his originally great powers of mind; and though Master Moody was not a native of Newburyport, yet as most of the

* Samuel L. Knapp.

Newburyport youth destined for the University, at this period, passed under his moulding hand, and he thus left upon them ineffaceable influences, it will not be deemed out of place to give him a passing notice here, especially as Judge Parsons ever retained for him the greatest respect. Master Moody was a thorough scholar, and required thoroughness in his pupils; he was also a man of extensive and varied information, and had some eccentricities too. He was a bachelor, and perhaps therefore took the more interest in his scholars, whom he regarded as his children, and in whose future success and fame he took an intense interest, which neither separation, time nor distance abated. It is easy to see how such a man would impress his character upon his pupils, and how much harder he would labor for their perfection than one whose only motive to exertion was pecuniary profit, or even his own reputation as a teacher. Master Moody lived to a good old age, but it was in his prime that he ranked among his pupils Theophilus Parsons, upon whom he was frequently heard to bestow his highest eulogy. From Dummer Academy young Parsons entered Harvard College, where he graduated in 1769; he then entered as a law student with Theophilus Bradbury,* and in 1777 commenced practice in Newburyport, having already obtained the reputation of a "young man of great talent, and remarkable acquirements." It was at this interesting epoch that the Legislature of Massachusetts formed the Constitution which they submitted to the people for their consideration. It contained many defects, and a general movement was made to prevent its adoption, in which Essex County took the lead; and Mr. Parsons was elected as a delegate to meet with gentlemen from the other towns of the County at Ipswich. Here he was placed on a committee to prepare a report on the subject, and he then drafted the famous paper known as the "Essex Result."

In 1779-80 a convention was called for the purpose of drafting a new Constitution, and to this body Mr. Parsons was also a delegate, and one of the most active and influential members.

In 1789 the Massachusetts Convention met in Boston, to consult upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution, then submitted to the several States for their adhesion. In this convention met a host of

* See Biographical Notice.

distinguished statesmen, and to this body Mr. Parsons was also a delegate, and here too he met in counsel and argument, one of his distinguished pupils, Rufus King, the only individual who at that time rivalled him in this vicinity in learning and talent. Parsons came to the convention with serious apprehensions as to the result, but fully determined to exert his utmost strength to secure its adoption; learning, wit, satire and argument combined, made his influence preëminent, as his genius deserved that it should be. One of the members, a clergyman, having remarked "that no angel presided at the formation of the instrument, for that the name of God was not in it," Parsons reminded him that by the same rule of judgment there was no divinity in one of the books of the Old Testament, referring the astonished clergyman to the book of Esther, which contains no mention of the name of Deity. A large share of the effort which secured the final majority in favor of the adoption of the Constitution may fairly be attributed to Mr. Parsons.

In 1806, Chief Justice Dana resigned his office, and general expectation was turned to Mr. Parsons, (who had some time previously moved to Boston,) as his successor. The judges were not unwilling to profit by his profound knowledge of law, and the whole of the intelligent community desired to see him at the head of the judiciary. But his practice at this time was extensive, and its emoluments were lucrative; his income was probably from six to ten thousand dollars a year, and the salary of the chief justice was then but twenty-five hundred dollars; and those who were most anxious for his professional advancement, felt hardly prepared to ask him to make this immense pecuniary sacrifice. He was, however, nominated by Governor Strong, and accepted the appointment; but not without arguments in return, on the insufficiency of the judges' salaries, so convincing and unanswerable, that the Governor in his next message to the Legislature, recommended "that a permanent and respectable compensation" be granted them, which resulted in placing these salaries on their present footing.

When he came to the bench there had been much done, but there was still much left to do, and he set about making a thorough reform; the docket was crowded with cases, and the method of despatching the business slow. To finish the business of the term, he roused parties and counsel to extraordinary exertions of vigilance and punc-

tuality, and at all times, his mind moved with such rapidity, and his despatch of business was so unequalled, as to excite both the murmurs and applause of clients and lawyers, as their different interests were affected by this new and energetic administration. Dealing with a man whose biography rightly told would fill volumes, and yet compelled to condense it within a few pages, we feel that we can scarcely give any just idea of Judge Parsons within our assigned limits.*

In person he was nearly six feet high, stout even to corpulency, heavy yet dignified; his features bold and striking; forehead high, but its effect was sadly marred by a very ill-looking wig, which was not always fashionably made nor carefully worn; sometimes after a season of deep mental occupation, awaking the mirth of his friends, by the wry and disordered appearance of this inelegant appendage. His eyes, "blue tinged with hazel grey," were deep set, and in repose looked sunken, but when excited, sparkled and burned with a peculiar lustre. Happy in his domestic connections, he shared in the amusements and directed the studies of his children, with the fondness and solicitude of a man who had no great official responsibilities weighing upon him. Wit sparkled in his conversation, yet no one would imagine from reading his written opinions, that he ever indulged in this, to him natural propensity. His memory was wonderfully tenacious, — not of that desultory sort which is sometimes found where the judgment is weak, but was as orderly as it was comprehensive. He seemed to have the same control over his thoughts as a strict disciplinarian has over his men; "they came, retired, concentrated, scattered, were condensed in column, or extended in line at his bidding." His great power of instantly arranging or embodying his thoughts, made his decisions appear at times almost like intuition. And the imagination, a faculty which is rarely combined, in much power, with such qualities of mind as he possessed, was yet in him sometimes warm, and always prolific. In his profes-

* We have the fact on good authority, that on one occasion Hamilton sought out Parsons for the sake of a personal interview, having heard much of his reputation, and being disposed to believe his talents exaggerated. He had the desired interview, and was accosted by a friend on his return, with the query, "Well, and how did you find Parsons?" "How did I find him? why I found him cut and dried for everything," replied the now satisfied examiner.

sional practice, he had none of that coldness and indifference which mark so many men of intellect. To the poor and those in a humble condition of life, he was ever kind and ready with his advice, to relieve them from their difficulties. If they and their cause were honest, he never delayed assistance to calculate the chances of remuneration. He was never known to take a fee from a minister of the gospel, no matter to what sect he belonged. He was a firm believer in the Christian religion, and as he approached the confines of old age, his love for the study of mathematics and divinity increased. He lived neither too long nor died prematurely, but when his labors had done good service to his country, and his wide spread fame had settled down on a permanent and abiding basis, he died, October 13, 1813, at the age of sixty-three, with a reputation as a judge and a lawyer, unequalled in New England, and unexcelled by any jurist in the United States.

During his residence in Newburyport, Mr. Parsons had in his office, as students of law, three young men of eminence, two of whom afterwards exceeded him in being the recipients of more public honors, though none surpassed him in vigor of mind or literary attainments: these were John Quincy Adams, Rufus King, and Robert Treat Paine.

The life of the SIXTH PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, who for several years participated in the social life of Newburyport, is too well known to need particular notice here, and perhaps should not occupy the room which might be devoted to natives of Newburyport, or more permanent residents; yet it is pleasant to know that late in life he retained a lively interest in the town, with which, as he expressed himself on a public occasion, "many of the most pleasing recollections of his youth were associated." That he also entertained a respect for its citizens, is evidenced by his selecting from among the many Americans there, a gentleman from this town,* to be the bearer of his official despatches to the Government of the United States, during his residence as American Minister at St. Petersburg, in 1813.

When Washington visited the town in 1789, Mr. Adams prepared

* Captain Nathaniel Jackson.

the reception address; and his much admired poem, entitled the "Vision," was written in Newburyport in 1792; the animated description which he there gives of nine different female characters, are portraits, which he drew from life, of some of his young friends and acquaintance here.

RUFUS KING, a native of Scarborough, Maine, spent many years in Newburyport and vicinity, first as a pupil of Master Moody, at Dummer Academy, and afterwards as a student of law with Mr. Parsons, — as a practitioner at the bar, and also as Representative to the General Court. Rufus King graduated at Harvard, with the first honors of the class of 1777, which was considered an excellent one. He was not only first in mathematics, the languages and oratory, but took the lead in every athletic sport, running, jumping and swimming. He was a fine specimen of the benefit of a sound body with a large mind. Before entering on the study of the law, Mr. King was appointed aid to General Sullivan, during his campaign in Rhode Island. On being admitted to the bar, in 1780, he rose rapidly in the public favor, and was soon after chosen as Representative from Newburyport to the Legislature, where he spontaneously took the position of a leader.

Having distinguished himself in the Convention of 1787, he soon after removed to New York, from which time his history is identified with that of his country. In 1784 he was sent to Congress, and took a high stand there, as he had done in the Legislature of the Commonwealth. In the Senate, during the warm discussions respecting the British treaty, he took the side of Washington and Hamilton. Having successively filled various honorable public offices, being for some years Minister to the Court of St. James, he on his return in 1803, made a visit to Newburyport, where he was complimented with a public entertainment. "It was a joyous occasion; the friends of his youth were around him; a thousand reminiscences were awakened; the old were glad to renew their acquaintance with him, and the young to catch a glimpse of the man whom their fathers had delighted to honor." He died at Long Island in 1827, aged 72. While in this town, Rufus King was one of the Wardens of St. Paul's Church.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE, son of the signer of the Declaration of Independence, of the same name, pursued his study of law in the office of Theophilus Parsons, at Newburyport, and while in that town, (January, 1800,) pronounced his brilliant "Eulogy upon Washington," on the occasion of public funeral services being observed, on the intelligence of the death of the latter.

His baptismal name was Thomas, and it was after this period that he applied to the Legislature to be relieved from it, not wishing to be confounded with the author of the *Age of Reason*. He spent several years in Newburyport; but attained more reputation as a poet than a lawyer. His genius was certainly of a high order, and his imagination prolific. His talents commanded admiration, and his wit excited merriment and delight; he was bold in his views, quick at retort, and sometimes fearfully sarcastic.

His principal literary efforts are the "Invention of Letters," "Adams and Liberty," the "Ruling Passion," with some minor poems, and the "Steeds of Apollo," which was his last and best production.

SAMUEL L. KNAPP, LL. D., a native of Newburyport, and a graduate of Dartmouth College, and afterwards a student at law with Judge Parsons, and subsequently a practising lawyer in Newburyport, was particularly distinguished as a belles-lettres scholar, and wrote on various subjects; some works of fiction, and many fugitive articles of merit, with others of permanent interest, as his "American Biography." He removed from Newburyport to Boston, and while there, edited the *Boston Galaxy*, and for a while the *Commercial Gazette*. He also spent some time at Washington, as editor of the *National Journal*; then removed to New York, and edited the *Commercial Advertiser* of that city.

As a writer Mr. Knapp was easy and graceful, but with too great a tendency to the highly ornate; in his biographical sketches, allowing too much sway to the personal admiration and feelings of friendship which he felt for many of his subjects, yet conveying distinct and permanent ideas of the men he would portray. He was the life of every social circle in which he mingled, his conversational talents partaking of the brilliancy and grace of his writings; but his practical failure in making life what it should have

been to one of his talents, arose from his careless business habits, which not unfrequently brought him in contact with the sheriff and the debtor's jail. Here, like greater genius before him, he amused and employed himself with his pen. While in Newburyport jail he wrote, and published (in 1817) a fictitious journal, descriptive of a tour through New England, and which he ascribed in the title-page to "Marshal Soult." In this book some of the peculiar traits of Newburyport are drawn with a free hand. He died at Hopkinton Springs, in July, 1838.

NICHOLAS PIKE, author of the arithmetic which bears his name, was a graduate of Harvard College, and principal of the grammar school in Newburyport for many years. His treatise on Arithmetic, with an appendix of Algebra and Conic Sections, kept its place in the public schools of New England until displaced by the production of another resident and teacher in Newburyport — Master Walsh. Mr. Pike was also for many years a justice of the peace, and the rigid discipline he had exercised in the school-room, prepared him to visit with severity the petty trespasses subjected to his decisions. "He was," says the biographer Knapp, "ready in the classics, and seldom took a book to hear his pupils recite." He could boast of many excellent scholars who had received the rudiments of a classical education under his care — a proof that he was himself well grounded in the same branches of learning.

He died December 9th, 1819, aged 76. Mr. Pike's was the first *original* arithmetic published in the United States, as appears from the following letter of President Washington, addressed to the author.

MOUNT VERNON, June 20th, 1788.

SIR:—I request you will accept my best thanks for your polite letter of the 1st of January, (which did not get to my hand till yesterday) and also for the copy of your "System of Arithmetic," which you were pleased to present to me.

The handsome manner in which that work is printed, and the elegant manner in which it is bound, are pleasing proofs of the progress which the arts are making in this country. But I should do violence to my own feelings if I suppressed an acknowledgment of

the belief that the work itself is calculated to be equally useful and honorable to the United States.

It is but right, however, to apprise you that diffident of my own decision, the favorable opinion I entertain of your performance is founded rather on the explicit and ample testimony of gentlemen confessedly possessed of great mathematical knowledge, than on the partial and incompetent attention I have been able to pay to it myself. But I must be permitted to remark that the subject in my estimation holds a higher rank in the literary scale than you are disposed to allow. The science of figures, to a certain degree, is not only indispensably requisite in every walk of civilized life, but the investigation of mathematical truths accustoms the mind to method and correctness in reasoning, and is an employment peculiarly worthy of rational beings. In a cloudy state of existence, where so many things appear precarious to the bewildered research, it is here that the rational faculties find a firm foundation to rest upon. From the high ground of mathematical and philosophical demonstration, we are insensibly led to far nobler speculations and sublime meditations.

I hope and trust that the work will ultimately prove not less profitable than reputable to yourself. It seems to have been conceded on all hands, that such a system was much wanted. Its merits being established by the approbation of competent judges, I flatter myself that the idea of its being an American production, and the *first of the kind which has appeared*, will induce every patriotic and liberal character to give it all the countenance and patronage in his power. In all events, you may rest assured that as no person takes more interest in the encouragement of American genius, so no one will be more highly gratified with the success of your ingenious, arduous and useful undertaking, than he who has the pleasure to subscribe himself, with esteem and regard,

Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

Nicholas Pike, Esq.

REV. JOHN LOWELL.

The Lowell family, who are of Welch origin, and early settlers of Newbury, are eminently worthy of a more extensive notice than our limits will permit us to give.

Four of the Lowell family have been Fellows of the Corporation of Harvard, viz., Judge John Lowell, his son, John Lowell, LL. D., Charles Lowell, D. D., (now of Cambridge,) and John A. Lowell, Esq., of Boston. And to one of them, John Lowell, Jr., (who died in 1825,) is Boston indebted for the foundation of the "Lowell Institute of that city."

The REV. JOHN LOWELL, for forty-two years pastor of the First Church in Newburyport, was a divine of large scholarly attainments, extensive reading, and of a liberality of mind unusual to the period in which his professional duties were exercised. A portion of his library is now in possession of Dr. Charles Lowell, of Cambridge, and the value and nature of the works, show a refined taste and an enlarged and liberal mind. In addition to the Greek and Latin, with which all persons regularly trained for the ministry were supposed to be acquainted, Mr. Lowell was familiar with the French tongue, and from the range of his reading, was probably acquainted with some other modern languages. Nor was it in literature alone that this liberality of mind was apparent. It was only during the controversy which divided his church, that human nature, aided by the spirit and legislation of the times, betrayed him into anything like illiberality. The prevailing tone of his mind was to an enlightened catholicism.

On the first appearance of a revival of religion among his people, he encouraged it both by extra labors himself, and by freely inviting others to occupy his pulpit. It was not until, in his judgment, things were tending to excess, and that persons whom he deemed unsuitable, and in whom he had not confidence, were thrust upon him as co-laborers, that he paused, and resisted—not the divine work—but the self-appointed *workers* and the manner in which it was attempted to be performed. His theological sentiments appear to have been independent and orthodox, so far as the orthodoxy of the day corresponded with New Testament Christianity. He was not strictly a Calvinist, neither was he an Armenian, Arian or Socinian; he was not tied to any formula of man's making, was neither a zealot nor a bigot, believing as the highest authority had taught him, "that secret things belong to God;" and he was willing to leave their interpretation to Him, and to be content to square his conduct by what he believed the written word taught. The

following fact is illustrative of his general disposition to maintain the individual rights of conscience. Before the middle of the last century, a council was called to consider the expediency of dismissing Mr. Barnard, third minister of the Second Church in Newbury, now First in W. Newbury. Its expediency was determined on, and the question occurred on giving him a recommendation as a minister. To this one of the council objected, "unless it should be ascertained, on inquiry, that Mr. Barnard was a believer in the doctrine of the Trinity." Mr. Lowell rose, with much emotion, and addressing the moderator, said, "If that question is put, sir, I shall leave the room, and take no more part in this council." The question was not put.

Mr. Lowell occupied the second house on the right hand side of Temple street, entering from State street; on a panel over the fireplace of the sitting-room was a painting representing a meeting of ministers, who were seated around a table, on which was represented a bowl and a tobacco dish, and bearing above, this motto, in Latin, "In essentials, united; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity." This panel was purchased by James Russell Lowell, Esq., the well-known poet, of Cambridge, a great grandson of the Rev. Dr. Lowell, in whose possession it still remains. Mr. Lowell died in 1767. He left one son, the subject of the next notice.

JOHN LOWELL, LL. D., A. A. S., S. P. A., son of the Rev. John Lowell, was born in Newbury, June 17, 1748, (Old Style,) and graduated at Harvard College in 1760, and applied himself to the study of law. He very soon rose to great eminence in the profession, growing in public esteem and the affections of his acquaintance as he advanced into life. The integrity of his character always secured him the confidence of those who admired his ability. In 1776 he removed from Newburyport to Boston; was there chosen representative to the General Court, and one of the twelve delegates to the Convention which framed the Constitution for the Commonwealth, where he was distinguished for his knowledge and eloquence. Being one of the committee who drew the plan, he was fully prepared for the subject whenever taking part in debate.

In 1781 he was chosen a member of Congress, and in 1782 was

appointed by that body one of the three Judges of the Court of Appeals—a tribunal established by Congress for the trial of all appeals from the Courts of Admiralty of the several States. When the Federal Government was established, he was appointed by Washington Judge of the District Court in Massachusetts. He remained in that office till the new organization of the Federal judiciary in 1801, when he was appointed Chief Justice of the Circuit Court, for the first Circuit, which included the district of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In the discharge of that office he continued until the repeal of that act in 1802.

On the bench, Judge Lowell appeared with peculiar and engaging lustre. With the most condescending and obliging manners, he ever maintained the dignity of his station. In critical causes he was mature and deliberate in making up a judgment, and his quick apprehension and facility for discrimination enabled him to give despatch to ordinary business. People of different political sentiments had the same persuasion of his knowledge and impartiality; and those against whom judgment was given, were disposed to confide in its equity and legality. Had the act been continued which established the Circuit Courts, he would have had a wider sphere for his usefulness, and the exercise of his talents.

On retiring from public business, he actively engaged in literary and benevolent associations. He was interested in agriculture, gardening, botany, and other branches of natural history.

He first originated the subscription for a professorship of Natural History, at the University, and was among the most generous subscribers. He was always a great friend to Harvard College, and his mind was actively employed in devising means for its prosperity. When there was a vacancy in the Corporation in 1784, he was elected one of that Board, and for eighteen years was an attentive, firm and judicious member. The critical state of the public funds during this period, caused some doubtful and anxious expectations, and required of the members of the Corporation peculiar watchfulness over the property they had in trust. Mr. Lowell acquainted himself with the interests and circumstances of the College, and its treasury was especially benefited by his discreet and active exertions.

He was one of the most active in forwarding the plan in 1780,

for establishing an Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Society elected him one of its counsellors. They had also such a sense of his literary merits, that they chose him, with a unanimous vote, to deliver an oration when President Bowdoin died. This oration was published in one of the volumes of the Academy. Mr. Lowell was the author of that clause in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, which forever excluded slavery from the soil of this Commonwealth.

Among those who studied law with Mr. Lowell, was Thomas Dawes, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and Christopher Gore, Governor of Massachusetts, and Harrison Gray Otis,* of Boston.

Mr. Otis, writing on the character of his legal instructor, but a few years since, says :

“ Had that excellent person been a native of Virginia, his life would have been written and emblazoned, by pens qualified to eulogize departed worth and talent ; and his name would have been classed with those of her Henrys, Marshalls, Wythes, and other eminent lawyers. * * My personal acquaintance with him commenced in 1783, when I entered his office as a student ; he was then at the head of the profession in Suffolk, to which eminence he rapidly attained after removing to Boston from Essex County, where he made his debut, and practised with a constantly rising reputation. I first saw him, as well as I remember, at Cambridge, while I was a student at Harvard College ; he, with Mr. Theophilus Parsons, appeared there as counsel for a Mr. W——, a substantial, and until then, a quite respectable farmer, charged with murdering his wife by poison. It was a trial which at that period of paucity of crime, thrilled the whole community with astonishment and horror.

* Mr. Otis, who was later advanced in life when he commenced his legal studies than the others, gave to Mr. Gore this reason for studying law. “ That he at first studied divinity, and commenced preaching, and that having on one occasion supplied a vacant pulpit, in the neighborhood of Boston, preaching twice upon the Sabbath, he was waited upon on Monday morning by a deacon of the church, who asked him what he should pay him for his services. ‘ O, I don’t know,’ replied Mr. Otis, ‘ give me what they are worth.’ The deacon gravely handed him a *pistareen*. Thinking if two sermons were worth but that, he had better turn to some other profession, he abandoned theology, and turned his attention to law.”

This was probably the first occasion which established the preëminence of these gentlemen in the estimation of the whole State. Their ordinary circuit, before this time, being principally limited to Suffolk and Essex, in the latter of which Parsons still resided. Their claim to this precedence was never afterwards disputed, and they were regarded as *par nobile fratrum*. Professional rivals they sometimes were, but always friends.

In stature, Judge Lowell reached, I should think, about five feet ten inches; he was inclined to corpulency, his gait rapid, even hurried, his conversation animated and ardent. He appeared to strangers, at first, to speak too much *ex cathedra*; but he was free from all propensity to brow-beat or show ill-humor. On the contrary, he was the mirror of benevolence, which beamed in, and made attractive, a countenance not remarkable for symmetry of feature or beauty; and his companionable talents, never displayed at the expense of dignity, made him the delight of the society in which he moved. His private character was irreproachable — his honesty and moderation proverbial. * * * * * He had always something pleasant to say to the young; and his demeanor towards the bar and witnesses was kind and courteous.

His general health during the time of my intimacy with him, was good, though occasionally inclined to a *maladie imaginaire*, an ordinary symptom of ardent temperament and ethereal genius. Of his last few years I lost the run, from my constant absence from home, but I know that no one ever lived more beloved, or died more lamented."

Chief Justice Parker thus refers to Judge Lowell, in his remarks on the death of Theophilus Parsons: "At that early period of his (Parson's) life, his more formidable rival, and most frequent competitor, was the accomplished lawyer and scholar, the late Judge Lowell. It was the highest intellectual treat to see these great men contending for victory in the judicial forum."

Judge Lowell was three times married, though he and Mr. Jackson,* his college chum, on leaving college, determined to keep bachelor's hall together, and forswear the state matrimonial. But Cupid outwitted them, and shot a fatal shaft at each of their hearts

* See Notice of Hon. Jonathan Jackson.

at the same time, and they were both married on the same evening, in Salem, — Mr. Lowell to Miss Higginson, daughter of Stephen H. Higginson, Esq.; and after her death he married Miss Susanna Cabot, of Salem, daughter of Francis Cabot, Esq.; and lastly he was united to Mrs. Rebecca Tyng, widow of James Tyng, Esq., and daughter of Hon. Judge James Russell, of Charlestown.

JOHN LOWELL, LL. D., a son of Judge Lowell, was born in Newburyport, October 6th, 1769. He was fitted for college under the tuition of Dr. Eliphalet Pearson, of Newbury, at Andover Academy. He ranked high as a scholar, and having graduated with honor at Harvard College, was admitted to the bar before he had completed his twentieth year; and "instead of lingering through a long and scant novitiate, advanced almost at a step into full, laborious, and lucrative practice." His health failing in 1803, he visited England, and though this was perfectly restored by travel, he never returned to the bar; having acquired a competent fortune by his professional labors at an age, thirty-four, when most lawyers are but beginning to be known. During the war of 1812, he wrote constantly for the public, on the side of the Federal party. His political pamphlets, in two octavo volumes, are now in the library of Harvard University. When the Unitarian controversy broke out, he published various pamphlets which had a marked bearing on the points at issue; the one entitled "An inquiry into the right to change the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts," in all probability, says Dr. Greenwood, "contributed to put a stop to the proposed plan for an arbitrary consociation of churches."

From 1810 to 1822 he was a member of the Corporation of Harvard, and was Overseer of the University for several years. Mr. Lowell filled other honorable public offices, and gave his influence to many valuable associations connected with the welfare of his native State, which our limits will not permit us to enumerate; but one trait of his character we cannot forbear to notice, which was his benevolence. "His private charities were large, and his constant practice of assisting, with his valuable legal advice, parties in indigent circumstances, was a kind of charity which drew largely on that most valuable commodity of a business man, time.

But his money was also freely given. One who had been his almoner for thirteen years, and who during Mr. Lowell's life had been forbidden to mention them, says, "The sum which was placed at my disposal was to be expended in wood for the poor. I was requested to relieve any case of suffering, for want of fuel, which might come under my notice. At my own request for some specified limit, he named a certain annual sum, desiring me, however, to exceed it without scruple, if I should find occasion for more. But in no year did I find occasion for so much, using the circumspection which I felt bound to use." In addressing a letter to this individual, Mr. Lowell says, "There is no variety of physical distress, for which my heart suffers more than that produced by cold. * * I have always thought that this particular mode of relieving distress was the most unexceptionable, and in our climate the most imperative. With this opinion, I have never failed to contribute when asked by the Howard Benevolent Society, nor have I ever refused an individual application for the same object; but these opportunities have been too unfrequent to satisfy my sense of duty." * He therefore selected an almoner to seek out objects of charity.

The winter of 1839 Mr. Lowell spent in the West Indies, to which climate he had been recommended for the relief of a painful disorder. He returned with improved health, but his constitution remained enfeebled. He died suddenly, while reading a daily paper, at his house in Boston, expiring, apparently without suffering, on the 12th of March, 1840.

FRANCIS C. LOWELL, also a son of Judge Lowell, was born in Newburyport, April, 1775. His name is indelibly connected with the manufacturing interests of New England, in the name of the CITY OF LOWELL, formerly a part of Chelmsford, which is derived from him.

"It was owing to his genius and application, aided by the talents and skill of his relative, Patrick Tracy Jackson, of Newburyport, and by the *mechanical* skill of that profound but unpretending mechanic, Paul Moody, also of Newburyport, that the country

* Funeral Sermon, by F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D.

is indebted for the first establishment which satisfied our most intelligent citizens that the business of milling could be engaged in with safety and success." *

When the mills at Waltham, put into operation by these sons of Newburyport, carried every part of the manufactory of cotton goods to a complete and finished state,† the mills at Slatersville were only spinning.

The particulars of the introduction of the manufacture of cotton at Waltham and Lowell, in which Mr. Lowell was so deeply interested, will be found in the sketch of Patrick Tracy Jackson, the friend and brother-in-law of Mr. Lowell. It is noticeable that F. C. Lowell and Chas. (Judge) Jackson‡ were chums at college, as their fathers were before them. Their college friendship was cemented by the marriage of Mr. Lowell with a sister of Mr. Jackson.

"Mr. Lowell died in 1817 at the age of forty-two, satisfied that he had succeeded in his object, and that the cotton manufacture would form the basis of the future permanent prosperity of New England. He had been mainly instrumental in procuring from Congress in 1816, the establishment of the minimum duty on cotton cloth, an idea which originated with him.§ It is not surprising that he felt great satisfaction at the result of his labors, for elsewhere, vice and poverty have followed in the train of manufactures, but these wise and patriotic men (Lowell and P. T. Jackson,) foresaw and guarded against the evil."

By the erection of boarding houses at the expense, and under the control of the factory, putting at the head of them matrons of tried character, and allowing no boarders to be received except the female operatives of the mill; by stringent regulations for the government of these houses, — by all these precautions, they gained the confidence of the rural population, who were no longer afraid to trust their daughters in a manufacturing town. A supply was thus obtained of respectable girls, and these, from pride of character, as well as principle, have taken care to exclude all others. Other advantages have

* Boston Chronicle, 1816, and Massachusetts Observer, 1816.

† Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, 1848. ‡ See Notice of Jackson Family.

§ Hunt's Merchants' Magazine.

followed from this good foundation ; persons were found willing to become operatives from that class in comfortable circumstances, among whom the mental powers had been developed, and this moral connection, with mental efficiency, has essentially helped to decide the question of our rivalry with England in the manufacture of cotton. To Mr. Lowell may be fairly attributed all that is peculiarly good in the factory system of New England.

The HON. JONATHAN JACKSON, who belonged to the Revolutionary era, was "a man of whom the world knew much, but knew too little." As a patriot he combined the qualities which form the estimable citizen, and rendered him useful as a statesman. He took an early and zealous part in the Revolution, and devoted much of his time to the public service. His zeal for civil liberty in the early part of his life was enthusiastic, but his penetrating mind early suspected danger from pure Democratic institutions, and he was anxious to have such modifications made in our National Constitution as would secure the *permanence* as well as the fulness of our liberties. The views which he entertained on this subject, may be known by the draft of a Constitution prepared by delegates from the county of Essex, in forming which, Mr. Jackson bore a considerable share. Before the adoption by the State of the Federal Constitution, Mr. Jackson published a pamphlet on the subject, replete with understanding, foresight and patriotism, approving of the Constitution, to which, and to the policy of Washington, he remained firmly and invariably attached. If he was distinguished from his political friends in any point, it was in the dread and detestation in which he held the power and intrigues of France, a sentiment which he imbibed during his service in the old Revolutionary Congress, of which he was an honored member, and where he was witness and conversant with the dishonorable intrigues and manœuvres of the French Cabinet. But useful as he was to the State in his public capacity, the beautiful symmetry and integrity of his private life, his urbanity and refinement, his intellectual endowments, and his moral purity, overshadowed and eclipsed his public reputation. As the beau ideal of a gentleman, he retained the supremacy among that galaxy of worthies which formed the intellectual and social life of Newburyport. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1780,

Marshal of the District of Massachusetts under Washington, first Inspector and afterwards Supervisor of the Internal Revenue, Treasurer of the Commonwealth for five years, and at the time of his death was Treasurer of Harvard College.

Mr. Jackson was truly a "gentleman of the old school." Dr. Charles Lowell of Cambridge, says of him, "I knew him well, and was permitted to be with him the last night of his life, and on the Sabbath after his death, preached an affectionate tribute to his memory, from the passage, 'Thy friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not.' He was eminently worthy of any honor that could be paid him." His wife was a Miss Barnard of Salem.

His eldest son, CHARLES JACKSON, born in 1775, in Newburyport, graduated at Cambridge, and having studied law under his erudite and learned townsman, Theophilus Parsons, commenced practice in his native town. He rapidly rose to distinction at the bar, and having removed to Boston, was, on the death of Theodore Sedgwick, made Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. His untiring devotion to his professional duties seriously impaired his health, and he made in 1823-4 a visit to England; Jacob Perkins was then interesting the scientific classes in Great Britain, with his numerous and important inventions, and Mr. Jackson was hailed by another class, the jurists and statesmen of the times, as a man of equal, though of very different genius. A gentleman writing to an individual in this town from London, at the time of Mr. Jackson's visit, says: "Two of your townsmen now fill the public eye of England, and are the subjects of public and private conversation, even to the exclusion of all other topics in the *beau monde*." But it is not yet time to write the biography of Judge Jackson, of Boston, nor that of his brother Dr. JAMES JACKSON, of equal reputation in the medical profession in the metropolis, and who was the second son of the Hon. Jonathan Jackson.

PATRICK TRACY JACKSON was born at Newburyport, August 14th, 1780. He was the youngest son of the Hon. Jonathan Jackson. He received his early education in the public schools of his native town, and afterwards at Dummer Academy. When about fifteen years of age he was apprenticed to Mr. Wm. Bartlett. In this new

position, which with the aristocratic notions of that day, might have been regarded by some youths as derogatory, young Patrick took especial care to prove to his master that he had not been educated to view anything as disgraceful which it was his duty to do. He took pride in throwing himself into the midst of the labor and responsibility of the business. In so doing he gratified a love of activity and usefulness which belonged to his character, at the same time that he satisfied his sense of duty. And yet, while thus ready to work, he did not lose his keen relish for the enjoyments of youth; and would often, after a day of intense bodily labor, be foremost in the amusements of the social circle in the evening.

He soon secured the esteem and confidence of Mr. Bartlett, who entrusted to him, when under twenty years of age, a cargo of merchandise for St. Thomas, with authority to take the command of the vessel from the captain if he should see occasion. After his return from this voyage, which he successfully conducted, an opportunity offered for a more extended enterprise. His brother, Captain Henry Jackson, who was about six years older than himself, and to whom he was warmly attached, was on the point of sailing for Madras and Calcutta, and offered to take Patrick with him as a captain's clerk. The offer was a tempting one; it would open to him a branch of commerce in which his master, Bartlett, had not been engaged, but which was at that time one of great profit. An obstacle however interposed; our young apprentice was not of age, and the indentures gave to his master the use of his services until that period. With great liberality, Mr. Bartlett, on being informed of the circumstances, relinquished his claim.

It was very nearly the first day of the present century when Mr. Jackson commenced his career as a free man. Already familiar with many things pertaining to a sea life, he occupied his time on board ship in acquiring a knowledge of navigation and seamanship. On his return from this voyage, he took charge of a ship and cargo in the India trade, which he completed successfully, establishing his reputation for correctness and the faithful performance of everything entrusted to his care. He made two subsequent voyages to India, and on the last, was at the Cape of Good Hope when it was taken by the English, in 1806. This detained him and disarranged his mercantile plans; he formed new ones there, and did not return home till 1808.

He now entered into mercantile business in Boston; his long acquaintance with the India trade eminently fitted him for that branch of business; and he had the support and invaluable counsels of his brother-in-law, Francis C. Lowell. He entered largely into business, and his credit was unbounded. By the failure of another house in 1811, his credit became involved; it was expected he would fail; he called a meeting of his creditors and made a lucid exposition of his affairs, and showed that if allowed to manage them his own way, all the difficulties might be overcome. So admirably had his accounts been kept, and so completely did he show himself to be master of his business, that the appeal was irresistible; he was allowed to go on, and the event justified the confidence reposed in him. Within a year all the embarrassments passed away, and he continued in the India and Havana trade till the breaking out of the war in 1812.

At this period, Mr. F. C. Lowell had just returned from a prolonged visit to England and Scotland, where he had conceived the idea that the cotton manufacture, then almost monopolized by Great Britain, might be advantageously prosecuted here. We could obtain the raw material cheaper than they, and the character of our population, educated, moral, and enterprising, could not fail, Mr. Lowell believed, to secure success, though England had the advantage of cheap labor, improved machinery, and reputation. Mr. Lowell determined to bring his views to the test of experiment, and he offered Mr. Jackson a share in the enterprise. The difficulties to be encountered were enormous; the state of war prevented their procuring models, or even books or drawings of machinery, from England; everything, even to the tools to work with, must be, as it were, reinvented. But undiscouraged by any obstacles, Mr. Jackson entered heartily into the project.

The first object was to invent a power loom, and unacquainted as they were with machinery, they set about the solution of a problem that had baffled the most ingenious mechanicians. In England the power loom had been invented by a clergyman; why not here by a merchant? After numerous experiments and failures, they succeeded, in the fall of 1812, in producing a model which they thought so well of as to set about making preparations for putting up a mill for the weaving of cotton cloth.

It was now necessary to procure the assistance of a practical mechanic, and they had the good fortune to secure the services of Mr. Paul Moody, of Newburyport, afterwards well known as the head of the machine shop at Lowell. They found, as might naturally be expected, many defects in their model loom; but these were gradually remedied. The project hitherto had been exclusively for a weaving mill, to do by power what had before been done entirely by hand. But it was soon ascertained, by inquiry, that it would be more economical to spin the twist than to buy it, and they put up a mill for about 1700 spindles, which was completed late in 1813.

It will probably strike the reader with some astonishment to be told that this mill, still in operation at Waltham, (1848) was probably the first one in the world that combined *all* the operations necessary for converting the raw cotton into finished cloth. Such appears to be the fact from all that we can learn on the subject. The mills in this country, Slater's, for example, in Rhode Island, were spinning mills only, and in England, though the power loom had been introduced, it was used in separate establishments, by persons who bought, as the hand weavers had always done, their twist of the spinners. Great difficulty was at first experienced at Waltham for the want of proper preparation (sizing) for the warps. They procured a drawing of Horrick's dressing machine, from England, which, with some essential improvements, they adopted, producing that now used in Lowell and elsewhere. But no method was indicated in this drawing for sending the threads from the bobbins on to the beam, and to supply this deficiency, Mr. Moody invented the ingenious machine called the "warper." Having obtained these, there was no further difficulty in weaving by power looms. There was still, however, a deficiency in the preparation for spinning; they had obtained from England a description of what was then called a bobbin and fly, or jack-frame, for spinning roving; from this, Mr. Lowell and Mr. Moody produced our present double-speeder. The motions of this machine were very complicated, and required nice mathematical calculations; without them, Mr. Moody's ingenuity, great as it was, would have been at fault. These were supplied by Mr. Lowell. Many years afterwards, and after Mr. Lowell's death, when the patent for the speeder had been infringed,

the late Dr. Bowditch was requested to examine them, that he might appear as a witness at the trial. He expressed his admiration of the mathematical power they evinced, adding "that there were some corrections introduced that he had not supposed any man familiar with but himself."

There was, also, originally great waste and expense in winding the thread for filling, or weft from the bobbin on to the quills, for the shuttle. To obviate this, Mr. Moody invented the machine known as the filling-throstle. In 1813, Messrs. Lowell and Jackson associated themselves with other intelligent merchants of Boston, and obtained a charter under the name of the "Boston Manufacturing Company," with a capital of \$100,000. The machinery they used is substantially the same as that employed now; minor improvements have been, and will continue to be made.

After the death of Mr. Lowell, in 1817, Mr. Jackson gave up his mercantile pursuits and devoted himself to the manufacturing business; boldly venturing on experiments and an expansion of the business, in the erection of successive mills, which others hesitated to commence. In 1821, he conceived the idea of possessing himself of the whole power of the Merrimac at Chelmsford, by the purchase of the Pawtucket canal; and aware of the necessity of secrecy, in order to secure it at a reasonable price, he undertook it single handed. It was necessary to purchase not only all the canal stock, but the farms on both sides of the river which controlled the water power; and it was not till he had accomplished all that was material for his purpose, that he offered a share in the project to a few of his former colleagues.

Such was the beginning of Lowell, a city which was named in honor of his friend, and which he lived to see, as it were, completed. In 1825 that portion of Chelmsford which he had purchased and built up, was incorporated under the name of LOWELL.

Everything which he had undertaken being now settled on a permanent basis, and the manufacture carried on by gentlemen subsequently associated with him, under the name of the Merrimac Manufacturing Company, Mr. Jackson resigned his agency of the factory at Waltham, (remaining however, a director in that, and the new company at Lowell,) intending to retire partially from business. But leisure did not suit him, and this interval of comparative rest

was of short duration. Mr. Moody had recently introduced some important improvements in machinery, and a new company was got up, (the Appleton,) of which he was appointed treasurer and agent, and as successive companies were formed, his presence and advice seemed indispensable at Lowell; he was appealed to by all parties as a man of sound judgment, and as occupying a historical position in regard to the cotton manufacture, which none others pretended to.

In 1830, Mr. Jackson, in unison with Mr. Boott, entered into the then untried project of obtaining a charter for a railroad in New England; and with respect to the road itself nearly everything was to be learned. Mr. Stephenson's experiments in England, on the Liverpool and Manchester railroad, helped to give the Legislature confidence in the undertaking. Mr. Jackson established a correspondence with the most distinguished engineers in this country and Europe, and he deliberately and satisfactorily solved the doubts of his own mind and those of others, before he commenced the work. The road was graded for a double track, and every measure adopted shows clearly that Mr. Jackson foresaw the extension and capabilities of the railroad. Few can realize the moral firmness required to carry on this work; shareholders were restless under increased assessments and delayed income. It is not too much to say that no one in Boston but Mr. Jackson could at that time have commanded the confidence necessary to pursue the work so deliberately and thoroughly. The road was opened in 1835. Its success is too well known to require recapitulation here. Subsequently, Mr. Jackson formed a new company for the extensive purchase of Boston flats, to make land for the accommodation of the Railroad Company; and after the death of Mr. Boott, (in 1837,) he assumed the management of the Locks and Canal Company, which he brought up from an exceedingly depreciated condition, so that when the affairs of the Company were wound up, the stockholders received of capital stock \$1,600 a share. The brilliant issue of this business greatly enhanced Mr. Jackson's previous reputation, and no great public enterprises were brought forward without the sanction of his opinion. During the last years of his life, he was treasurer and agent of the Great Falls Manufacturing Company in Somersworth.

He died at his seaside residence at Beverly, September 12, 1847, from an attack of dysentery, against which his overwrought consti-

tution had no power of resistance, and he sank after a short illness. It had not been generally known in Boston that he was unwell, and the news of his death was received as a public calamity. The spontaneous expressions of regret and grief that burst forth from every mouth, were a most touching testimonial to his virtues as well as to his talents.*

TRISTRAM DALTON.

Prominent among the gentlemen of the Revolutionary era was the HON. TRISTRAM DALTON, who at the early age of seventeen, received the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Harvard University. After finishing his collegiate course he studied law as an accomplishment, his ample fortune not requiring him to practise it as a profession. His father, Michael Dalton, was an eminent merchant of Newburyport, and his son was for several years actively engaged in commercial pursuits, but was not engrossed by them; his taste for agricultural pursuits and letters being gratified by the possession of beautiful and valuable country estates, which he delighted to cultivate; while a library, rich in ancient and modern authors, was his favorite and frequent retreat. As eminent for piety as mental endowments, the Episcopal church of which he was a member shared in his large and generous liberality. For several years he was called to fill some of the most dignified and responsible offices in the Commonwealth. He was a representative from his native town, Speaker of the House of Representatives, a member of the Senate and also a Senator of the United States in the First Congress after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. After the seat of Government was removed to Washington, Mr. Dalton for a time took up his residence there, where he had the misfortune, by the baseness of a person connected with him in business, to lose nearly the whole of his property.

A vessel which was conveying his movable property to the District of Columbia, was also cast away, putting the finishing stroke to a series of disastrous losses; and thus, after living sixty years in affluence, he was suddenly reduced to a state of comparative poverty. But he was neither daunted nor overcome by this late reverse; he soon after returned to New England, and accepted the office of

* Hunt's Merchants' Magazine.

Surveyor of the Port of Boston and Charlestown,* having been repeatedly offered a choice of respectable offices by the National Government, whose members appreciated his worth and sympathized in his misfortunes. He was for some time collector of the direct tax in Essex County.

Mr. Dalton had lived on terms of intimate friendship with the four first Presidents of the United States. "Washington honored him with his confidence and regard," as did also his illustrious classmate, John Adams. Yet like all genuine gentlemen, he could take an affectionate interest in his dependants, and the poor, black or white. He was kind and considerate to his servants, of whom, at one time, he had a large retinue. In the old graveyard back of Frog pond, may now be seen a stone with this inscription: "To Pompey, a faithful servant, erected by Tristram Dalton."

Mr. Dalton died in Boston, June, 1817, aged 79, and his remains were brought to his native town for burial. He was interred in the burying ground attached to St. Paul's church, of which Society he was, while resident here, a warden.

In figure, Mr. Dalton was tall and finely formed, and added to great personal beauty, the most graceful and accomplished manners. He was a diligent and accomplished scholar, standing high in his class at college, which was a distinguished one, none having exceeded, if indeed equalled it, in furnishing to the world such a number of eminent men.

THEOPHILUS BRADBURY, eminent as a Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, was born in Newbury (now Newburyport) in 1789. Having graduated at Harvard College at the age of eighteen, he then studied law, and commenced the practice in Falmouth, Me., where he had as a student, Theophilus Parsons — a name which subsequently outshone that of his teacher. During the war, (in 1779,) he returned to Newburyport, where his professional and other qualifications subsequently kept him continually in public life. He was a member of Congress from his native district, during the Presidency of Washington. About six years before his death, which occurred in 1803, he was appointed to a vacant judgeship in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

* American Biography

OLIVER PUTNAM, the founder of the Putnam School in Newburyport, was born in that place in 1778. He received only a common school education, and was early placed in the store of Messrs. Faris & Stocker to learn the mercantile business. After accumulating a handsome competence through his success in commerce, he endeavored to make up for his early deficiency in education, by a systematic course of reading and study. No doubt the sense of loss which he experienced, for want of early culture, induced him to lay the foundation of the noble Free School which bears his name. He was something of a traveller, having visited many parts of Europe, as well as distant parts of his own country. He suffered much from ill health, was never married, and died in Boston on the 12th of July, 1826, at the age of forty-seven.

HON. JONATHAN GREENLEAF, a native of Newburyport, was a nephew of Benjamin Greenleaf, who had been a Representative in the General Court, and filled various offices of confidence and consideration in the town, and who deceased at an advanced age in 1783.

Mr. Greenleaf was brought up to the business of a ship-builder; the class to which he belonged was here, as in all the seaport towns of that period, exceedingly influential; they were the pioneers in every act of opposition,* and produced, if we except the printers, more remarkable men than those of any mechanical class. The ship-yard which he occupied while in business, was situated between Bartlett's and Johnson's wharves. Mr. Greenleaf was placed on the first Committee of Correspondence and Safety appointed in Newburyport, and was for many years a Representative from this town to the General Court. He was a man "gifted with fine natural talents, and a peculiar tact for public business." In politics he was associated with Judge Parsons, and the powerful clique designated as the Essex Junto; and what his great contemporaries devised, his was the skill to carry into effect, by persuasions that overcame foes, and made him the reliance of his friends. From his great success in circumventing and persuading his political opponents, he received the appellation of "old silver tongue,"

* The first caucuses held in Boston were by the ship-builders.—*Hist. of the Arts*, p. 315.

which to those who knew him, was no equivocal compliment, — expressing the perfection of persuasive oratory; while his principles were firm as the granite rock.

He lived to the age of eighty-four, a great portion of which time was spent in public life, and in the service of Newburyport.*

His cousin, *Benjamin Greenleaf*, also a nephew of the one first named, was a member of the Executive Council of Massachusetts during the Revolution, and was also chosen to various honorable offices in the town of Newburyport. After the adoption of the State Constitution, he was chosen Senator. He was for many years Judge of Probate for Essex County, and was also a Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

The late head of the Law School at Cambridge, PROFESSOR SIMON GREENLEAF, was a native of Newbury, (now Newburyport,) and connected by consanguinity with many families here. He was a descendant of Hon. Jonathan Greenleaf, and a grandson of the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, the first minister of the first Presbyterian church — both men of mark; and was cousin to the present respected City Clerk of Newburyport, Eleazer Johnson, Esq., and Dr. Jonathan G. Johnson.

Simon Greenleaf was born December 5th, 1783, and was educated at the Latin School in Newburyport, then kept by "Master Walsh," author of "Walsh's Mercantile Arithmetic." At the age of eighteen he entered on the study of the law, in New Gloucester, Me., in which State he commenced practice. Mr. Greenleaf received the honorary degree of Master of Arts at Bowdoin College, in 1817, and that of Doctor of Laws at Harvard, in 1834, (the year of his removal to Cambridge,) and the same degree at Amherst, the next year. He was appointed Royal Professor of Law in Harvard University, as successor to Professor Ashmun, in 1834, which office he filled two years, when he was appointed to the chair of the *Dane Professorship* — a worthy successor to the chair — made vacant by the death of *Judge Story*. In consequence of ill health, he resigned this chair in 1848, when he was honored with the title of *Emeritus Professor of Law* in the University.

* The town passed in 1782 a vote of thanks to Mr. Greenleaf, "for his long and faithful services," as their Representative to the General Court.

"As an instructor he was greatly beloved, and his lectures and teachings were clear, distinct and practical. His connection with the Law School marked a season in its history of great prosperity. Indeed, it is greatly owing to the influence of his instructions, joined with those of his illustrious associates, that this department of the University has attained to its present state of prosperity. His mind had been carefully trained to habits of patient thought, and he was eminently fitted, by the discipline through which he had passed, to lead those who sought his instruction into the mysteries of the department over which he was called to preside. As a counsellor he was clear, safe and practical. His advice was always characterized by a weight of common sense as well as legal skill, which was sufficient to secure confidence while it gave direction. As a man, he possessed a weight of character, which insured for him the esteem of all who enjoyed his society or came within the circle of his influence. Affable, polite, courteous, frank, and liberal minded, he secured the confidence of his fellow citizens and neighbors, who sincerely mourned his loss as that of a good man."*

He died on Thursday, October 6th, 1853.

To this family of Greenleafs, belong the Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf, settled in Brooklyn, N. Y., and the Principal of the Brooklyn High School, Alfred Greenleaf, A. M.

NATHANIEL TRACY, a distinguished merchant previous to, and during the Revolutionary war, was born at Newbury, afterwards Newburyport, about the year 1749. He was the son of Patrick Tracy, who was an opulent merchant in that place, and having a proper view of life, gave his sons the best education the country afforded. Nathaniel graduated at Harvard College in 1769, and commenced business in his native town in company with Jonathan Jackson, an accomplished gentleman and thorough merchant. The house was prosperous, and extended its concerns to a wonderful magnitude for that day.* During the war of 1775 his privateers were for several years numerous and successful. He was generous and patriotic, and assisted the Government with money and articles of clothing, and other necessities for carrying on the war. He

* Cambridge Chronicle, October, 1853.

† See page 106.

lived in a most magnificent style, having several country seats or large farms, with elegant summer houses and fine fish-ponds, and all those matters of convenience and taste that a British nobleman might think necessary to his rank and happiness. His horses were of the choicest kind, and his coaches of the most splendid make. He expended as if fortune would be always propitious. But in the last years of the war, the enemy had grown wise and sent a large proportion of small frigates and heavy gun brigs, and swept the American privateers from the ocean. The Government failed to pay him; his debtors, who were numerous, had encountered similar difficulties, and in 1786 he was minus some millions of dollars. He was a gentleman of polished manners and fine taste. In looking upon his houses and works of amusement at the present time, when most of them are in a state of decay, you still see the hand of taste in every thing he did. Does not some of the surplus revenue of our country belong to those who brought their property to the shrine of their country in the hour of darkness and peril, and threw it down at the altar as a free-will offering to secure our liberty and independence? Such men saved the nation,—must they be forgotten?

WILLIAM BARTLETT, for half a century a prominent merchant of Newburyport, was born in that place, January 31, 1748. He received in early life no more education than the common schools of the town then afforded; but what he lacked in school education, was made up to him in the possession of a large share of common sense, a qualification which is an excellent substitute for book-learning, as well as auxiliary to it, especially for the successful prosecution of business. Mr. Bartlett was distinguished for prudence and industry during the period of his apprenticeship;* a period of life at which too many young men act as if they had no responsibilities; and at the close of this period, at the age of twenty-one, he had accumulated sufficient, by the sale of small articles, to purchase a share in a vessel then going to sea, on what proved a successful voyage; and this sum, earned by extraordinary diligence, and saved by equal prudence, proved the germ of his great future wealth. His active mercantile life continued for more than fifty years; and during a period when

* Mr. Bartlett long preserved a lap-stone, which he was wont to call the "foundation stone" of his great fortune.

our commerce was a continual prey to the belligerent powers of Europe, by some of whom, France particularly, Mr. Bartlett was a heavy loser. Yet despite these drawbacks wealth flowed in upon him, so that having enjoyed the pleasure of giving away many thousands of dollars while living, he still left ample fortunes to the surviving members of his family, besides bequests to religious institutions. As a citizen of Newburyport, Mr. Bartlett was ever ready to devise and execute plans for its essential prosperity; and at a time when temperance, as now understood, was almost unheard of, he exerted his influence both by personal example and arrangements for those in his employ, to eradicate the evils of habitual indulgence in spirituous liquors. All the great benevolent and Christian associations of the day met with his cordial support. He was a friend to Foreign Missions, to the Bible and Tract Societies, to Associations for Education, &c. His favorite object on which he seemed to delight to lavish the accumulations of a long life, was the Theological Seminary at Andover. Like his townsman, Moses Brown, Esq., he was one of the associate founders of that Institution, and in his first gift bestowed an equal gratuity with him, \$10,000, to which, soon after, another \$10,000 was added. But his beneficence did not stop here; not a want of the Seminary could be named but Mr. Bartlett stood ready to step forward and supply it. The "commodious chapel and convenient hall,"* provided for the students, are lasting mementos of his generosity to this institution, while no small part of the select and valuable library, may be traced to the same source.

His religious opinions were in accordance with the strict Calvinism which he made the basis of his donations, should be taught at Andover; to them he was decidedly and inflexibly attached; he revered the Sabbath, and was punctual in his observance of the public services of the day. In the First Presbyterian church where he worshipped, stands a beautiful and costly cenotaph, erected to the memory of Whitfield by his ardent admirer, Mr. Bartlett.

In a vote of the Board of Trustees of Andover Theological Seminary, passed in April, 1841, Mr. Bartlett is designated as the "most generous and long continued benefactor" of the Institution.

* Dr. Dana's Sermon, delivered before the Trustees, Board of Visitors, and students at Andover, April 19, 1841.

Having laid the foundation of his fortunes with the labor of his own hands, and having to the latest period of his life retained those habits of thrift and untiring industry which marked his early career, Mr. Bartlett was ever the uncompromising enemy of idleness and extravagance. The dilatory and inaccurate habits of many of the laboring classes, numbers of whom were constantly employed by him, excited his strong disapprobation, and it was matter of conscience with him to exact under all circumstances, a strict fulfilment of his orders, and to expect from the poor as well as rich, a prompt compliance with contracts to which he was a party. In this he frequently did a lasting service to individuals by instilling and encouraging correct business habits; but this is a kind of benefit which rarely excites gratitude in the recipient. He was discriminate in his generosity, preferring to help those who had a disposition to help themselves, sometimes sacrificing a valuable consideration for this purpose. Thus when young Patrick Tracy Jackson, (late of Boston,) who was an apprentice of his, had an opportunity of bettering his prospects by going to India, Mr. Bartlett freely released him from the residue of his apprenticeship. The subsequent success of young Jackson justified his judgment in this case.

There was something in Mr. Bartlett's *mode* of giving and exacting, which reminds us of Harry Percy, (King Henry IV, Act III, Scene I,) when mapping out England with his co-revolutionist, Glendower, cavilling closely enough on a bargain, but ready to "give thrice so much land to any well-deserving friend." It was these strongly marked mental qualities, of which exacting justice was the most prominent feature, which controlled his religious faith, making it impossible for him to be anything in creed but a Calvinist.

Mr. Bartlett was a man of iron frame, as well as nerve, and lived to the advanced age of ninety-three.

BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN BOYT was born in Newburyport in 1764, and at the age of twenty-two was appointed an ensign in the 2d American Regiment; the army being disbanded soon after, he was appointed (by John Hancock) lieutenant of a company in Boston. But panting for active service, and his country having no demands upon him, he determined upon an Oriental experience, and provided with highly flattering letters of recommendation to the

English Consul residing at the Court of Madras, Lieutenant Boyd sailed for India in 1788, being then but twenty-four years of age. He was formally presented to His Highness, the Nizam, an ally of England, who committed to his command a troop of infantry of 1000 men. The war in progress was that destructive one waged against Tippoo Sultan; in the course of which he was once taken prisoner. He continued in the English service in India many years, but returned to his native country in time to engage in the war of 1812. He was appointed a Brigadier General in the United States service by President Madison, and commanded a detachment of 1,500 men at the battle of Williamsburg, U.C., in the fall of 1813, and subsequently at the defence of Fort George and the battle of Tippecanoe; in all of which engagements he distinguished himself by his courage and knowledge of military tactics. Under President Jackson, he was appointed Naval Officer of the Port of Boston, but survived the appointment only a few months. He died October 4th, 1830.

CAPTAIN MOSES BROWN, U. S. N. Born January 23, 1742, at Salisbury, immediately opposite Newburyport, with which latter place he was identified from the age of fifteen years, when he was apprenticed to Captain William Coffin, with whom he made his first voyage, and with whom he remained until his majority, and in whose employ he first took command of a vessel.

When only sixteen, he, in the course of his profession, made a voyage to Louisburg, and was present at its surrender; and during the months he remained there probably acquired his first knowledge of gunnery, and the tactics of naval warfare, which afterwards rendered him so formidable an antagonist on the water. At the age of eighteen he was promoted to the responsible office of mate, though still an apprentice, and the next year sailed in the schooner *Phoebe*, with Captain Robinson, in His Majesty's service, for Halifax. On arriving there, they found that the fleet which they had expected to join had already sailed for New York, to which place they followed them. Here, having taken on board a company of Fraser's Highlanders, they sailed in company with the fleet for the West Indies. But being separated from the convoy during a gale, they fell in with two French privateers, both of whom they engaged and

beat off, with the loss of their lieutenant and seven men, the captain and several others wounded; Mr. Brown receiving a gunshot wound in his arm above the elbow, a wound which confined him for two months in the hospital at Guadeloupe, where the *Phoebe* put in two days after the engagement. On rejoining his vessel, which had taken in troops for the capture of Martinique, he sailed for that port, but the schooner springing one of her masts, was considered as unfit for the service, and Mr. Brown returned to Newburyport, after a disastrous voyage, and an absence of sixteen months.

In 1764 he married, and on his next voyage was taken sick at sea with the small-pox, and was laid out for dead; the ship's company were assembled, and the supposed corpse placed on the sailor's coffin—the board and tarred sheet—preparatory to committing his body to the waves. But the preparations were premature; the captain was satisfied that life was not extinct, and interfered to prevent his being launched overboard; by his orders he was again carried below to his berth, where, contrary to the expectations of the crew, he revived, and finally recovered; thus narrowly escaping a premature burial.

In 1767, he took command of the schooner *Phoebe*, and afterwards a vessel for his old master, Captain Coffin. The perfectly good understanding which always subsisted between them is ample evidence of the skill and faithfulness of the boy Moses Brown as well as the man. In Captain Coffin's employ he continued till a son of his owner wished to take the vessel, when Captain Brown relinquished it to him. In a voyage which he made to the West Indies, in 1778, his vessel sprang a leak, and he was obliged to take to his boat; the schooner sank in about thirty minutes after she was abandoned. After being tossed about on the ocean with his crew for seven days, he was relieved from his perilous situation by a vessel from Philadelphia (Captain May) bound to St. Croix, where he was safely landed. From thence he took passage for Rhode Island, but on his voyage home was cast away on Sanquish Beach, where, he says in his journal, "I took my land tacks and arrived home January, 1774.

After making a long freighting voyage, and on his return putting into Philadelphia, he took a sulkie from there to return home by

land ; but, sailor-like, did not succeed so well with land craft ; he overturned the sulky, dislocating his right shoulder.

In April, 1777, he took command of the brig "Hannah," and sailed for the West Indies, but the second day out he was captured by the British frigate *Diamond*, of thirty-two guns, and was placed on board a prison-ship stationed at Rhode Island, where he remained until July. On his return home, he took command of the ship *General Arnold*, but a conspiracy being discovered among the crew, who designed to take possession of the ship and carry her to Halifax, the men were arrested and committed to prison, and Captain Brown altered his ship to a privateer of eighteen six-pounders ; then shipping a new crew, he sailed on a cruise, and after capturing one brig, returned.* He afterwards commanded the ship *Intrepid*, of twenty twelve-pounders, and the *Hercules* ; but the particulars of his successes in these vessels we have not obtained, nor of the letter-of-marque ship of twenty-two guns to which he was commissioned by Samuel Huntington, President of United States Congress in February, 1781.

In 1798, he was appointed to the command of the "*Merrimac*,"† mounting twenty nine-pounders, and eight six-pounders, 460 tons burden, and rated by her builders as a sloop-of-war. In the Navy Department she was rated as a twenty-four. In the latter part of the year she sailed on her first cruise to the West Indies, and joined the squadron under Commodore Barry. Returning once to renew his crew, Captain Brown remained abroad until the peace, during which time he captured the large brig *Brillante*, of sixteen guns, and the *Magiciene*, of fourteen guns and one hundred and twenty-eight men, and the *Phoenix*, and *Le Bonaparte*, each of fourteen guns and one hundred and twenty-eight men ; besides recapturing many American and British vessels which had been made prizes of by the French.

It is to be regretted that Captain Brown's extreme modesty prevented his recording the particulars of his numerous brilliant achievements ; the memory of many of them has passed away with the brave participators in them, and it is now impossible to

* For account of his next cruise in the *Arnold*, see page 110.

† See page 156.

recover the account. In regard to the capture of the *Brillante*, we have the testimony of Mr. Benjamin Whitmore, of Portland. He says, in a letter addressed to Colonel S. Sweet, of Boston, "I was a midshipman on board the *Merrimac*, and find, after looking into my journal, that in addition to several others, the brig *Brillante* was captured by our ship. She was one of a banditti which made a descent on the island of Curacao, at a time when the French and Dutch were at amity." This piratical fleet, twelve or thirteen in number, took *Outra Banda*, on the west side of the river, and plundered the inhabitants. "Our ship," continues Mr. Whitmore, "with the *Petapsco*, was ordered there, and on our appearance at the island, they all cut and run, but before they reached *Guadeloupe*, whence they sailed, we captured the *Brillante*. * * Captain Brown was a brave man, and a good disciplinarian, but exhibited much good feeling for the crew under his charge, and was much respected by all his subordinates."

As an evidence that his crew were equally attached to him, the fact may be stated, that a sailor in the *West Indies* wished to enter in the *Merrimac*, and his Captain made the proposition of an exchange of men with Captain Brown, who consented, but upon questioning the crew, not one could be found willing to quit the ship, though he would thus have the prospect of a speedy return home.

Captain Brown acted as Commodore of the naval force which relieved Curacao and expelled the French from that island. Notwithstanding his services, and the respect in which he was held by the community of which he was a citizen, as well as by the officers of the naval service, Captain Brown was dismissed from office by President Jefferson, with many other brave men, after the peace; and he was obliged again to resort to mercantile voyages for his support. After forty-seven years of unremitting toil on the ocean, having fought in the early and later battles of the country, having been shipwrecked in his mercantile adventures, and twice a prisoner to the British, he was on the 2d of January, 1804, in the vicinity of Martha's Vineyard, while on a voyage home, seized with apoplexy, and died suddenly at the age of sixty-two. His remains were committed to the keeping of the ocean, on which so great a portion of his life had been passed.

Captain Brown was exceedingly averse to the then common pun-

ishment of flogging in the Navy, and never, except when it was absolutely unavoidable from the emergency of the case, resorted to it. He was equally remarkable for his efforts to inculcate temperate habits among his crew; and the perfect neatness and order of his ship were the subject of common remark. He was in the constant practice of periodically fumigating and cleansing his ship when in sickly ports, by the application of vinegar and lime juice, and the benefit of this he found in an almost total exemption from sickness among his crew, when others were suffering fearfully at the West Indies from the prevalence of yellow fever.

COLONEL EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH, a native of Ipswich, was a descendant of Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, a famous divine, and author of the "Day of Doom." In early life he removed to Newburyport, where he resided, with brief intermissions, till his death. Mr. Wigglesworth was a man of liberal education, having graduated at Harvard University in 1761,* and subsequently entered into mercantile business, in the employ of Messrs. Jackson & Tracy, part of the time as shipmaster.

In June, 1776, Mr. Wigglesworth received a commission from the "Council of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," appointing him colonel of a regiment to be raised for the service of the Continent, in the Counties of Essex, York and Cumberland; (the two latter are now included in the State of Maine.) This is dated Watertown, June 24th, 1776. In November of the same year his commission was renewed by the authority of the Congress, and is signed by the President, John Hancock.

Under the first, Colonel Wigglesworth had led his men to the army under the command of Major General Gates, and received from him the following instructions, in regard to joining the little fleet on Lake Champlain, from which it will be seen that Colonel Wigglesworth's character had gone before him, and that he was favorably known to General Gates by reputation, if not personally.

"Instructions to Colonel Wigglesworth, going on board the fleet of the United States on Lake Champlain.

"The character which I have constantly heard of you as an

* Boston Gazette, 1825.

experienced, active and determined officer, has induced me to in trust the important post of *third in command*, on this lake to you, in preference to any other person. I have not a doubt that your conduct will justify the idea I have formed.

"The Hon. Brigadier General Arnold has the first command of the fleet. General Waterbury has the second. Your conduct is to be governed by the orders you may receive from them. You will go on board the Royal Savage schooner, or such other vessel as General Arnold shall direct. You will command a division of the fleet; and if by any misfortune your two superiors shall be taken off, the command of the whole by that means devolves on you. You will then take their instructions, and act conformable to them, or to the exigencies of affairs.

"I need not tell you that in going down to the fleet it will be proper to keep the middle of the lake, to avoid going on shore, and to be as expeditious as possible; your own good sense and experience will dictate every thing of this kind.

"On your joining the fleet you are to show these instructions to General Arnold, and receive his orders.

"Wishing you success, happiness and victory, and commending you to the protection of Heaven,

"HORATIO GATES, Major General.

"Given at Head Quarters, Ticonderoga, this 6th day of September, 1776."

From a journal which Colonel Wigglesworth kept, from his first connection with the fleet until the disbandment of his regiment in December, we have been enabled to make the following extracts: it will be recollected that the little American armament destined to the defence of lakes Champlain and George was long awaiting the British force, which finally appeared in such strength upon those waters.

"On the 11th of October," Colonel Wigglesworth writes, "the guard boats gave the alarm that the enemy's fleet was in sight, coming down the lake; at half past nine, General Arnold ordered me into the yawl to go to the windward and observe their motions; returned at ten and informed him that they were round the island of Valcour. In half an hour they began to fire upon the Royal Savage, which had gone to land, for at my return the three galleys and two schooners

were under sail standing across the lake, between the island and the main. * * * The enemy came on with one ship of eighteen twelve-pounders, two schooners of sixteen guns each, one bomb and a floating battery of twenty-two brass twelve and twenty-four pounders, and eighteen flat-bottomed boats carrying each one eighteen or twenty-four pounder, besides howitzers; when there ensued a most terrible fire without the least intermission till half past five, P. M., when the enemy drew off. Our fleet received considerable damage, and we had about fifty killed and wounded. * * * Upon consultation with Generals Arnold and Waterbury, I was ordered to get under way as soon as it was dark, and show a light astern for the gondolas, in order to retreat up the lake as fast as possible. It being calm, we rode out clear of the enemy, without being discovered. * * * On Saturday 12th, I was up with Schuyler's Island, and came to anchor under Ligon's Point to wait for the fleet, stop our leaks, and secure our mainmast, which was split in two."

The shattered remains of the little fleet joined him at sunset Saturday evening.

"On Sunday 13th," the journal continues, "at nine o'clock General Arnold sent his boat aboard to desire me to lie by for the fleet, which I did, by stretching across the lake. At ten, A. M., the enemy began to fire upon the two galleys in the rear, (near Split or Cloven Rock.)* I soon discovered that the Washington galley, in which was General Waterbury, had struck, and that General Arnold was engaged with the ship and two schooners, and that he could not get clear. I thought it my duty to make sail and endeavor to save the Trumbull galley if possible. About one o'clock General Arnold run his galley ashore, with four other gondolas, and blew them all up."

This exploit of Arnold's is considered by some historians as the most brilliant and masterly of his many brave and daring feats; that he saved his men in the presence of such a superior force, even at the sacrifice of his vessels, was regarded as evidence of extraordinary generalship, yet in the face of this very foe Colonel Wigglesworth, brought off his own vessel, the Hospital sloop, the schooner Revenge, and a gondola.

* Allen's History of the Revolution.

He says, "We double manned our oars and made all the sail we could, and by throwing over our ballast got off clear. * * As the lee cutter was missing, we supposed her taken, which, with one gondola and the Washington, was all the enemy got possession of. * * Arrived at Ticonderoga at sunset, went ashore, waited on Gates, and informed him of our affairs, and that I believed General Arnold would be in in the morning, which he accordingly was."

Here, it will be remembered, the Americans employed themselves in constructing a boom across the lake, in superintending which Colonel Wigglesworth was actively engaged; and here they waited in expectation of another attack from the enemy, the size and condition of their fleet forbidding any aggressive movement.

"November 7th. Received orders to prepare to go to St. John's with a flag of truce, and set out at five o'clock, with Lieutenant Evans and a Frenchman, prisoners. Landed at Crown Point.

"8th. It rained all day and I encamped three miles below Split Rock.

"9th. Between Valcour Island and the main, saw the ship, (probably the Inflexible,) and went aboard to deliver our prisoners, but were detained prisoners ourselves."

Colonel Wigglesworth was thus, though bearing a flag of truce, detained until the 16th inst., when he was released, and returned to Ticonderoga on the morning of the 17th, and the next day, in company with Generals Gates, Arnold and Brickett, set out for Fort George, on their way to Albany, where he arrived on the evening of the 21st. To keep Albany from falling into the hands of the enemy, was now the great desideratum, as the possession of this post would give them an almost uninterrupted communication from Canada to New York, thus separating the Eastern from the Middle States. Here Colonel Wigglesworth expected orders to send his regiment home, but an entry in his journal, under date of November 30, shows the state of discipline in the army at that time, and is characteristic of the men.

"Paid off the men — expected orders to send them home — *but they went without leave.*"

Colonel Wigglesworth soon after returned to Newburyport, and recruited another company during the winter of 1777, as we learn by a letter written on the 8d of December, by General Gates,

requesting Colonel Wigglesworth to rendezvous his regiment "on the *new establishment*," at Concord, Massachusetts, by the 1st of January, 1777. But such was the distress of the times, that recruits could not easily be raised, or, if raised, equipped; and on the 22d of February we find Major General Heath, in consequence of express orders from General Washington, requesting Colonel Wigglesworth to march with the men he had already obtained, and not to wait for a full company; and the rendezvous now appointed was Ticonderoga.

Of this winter's campaign, and following, we find no journal extant, but from other evidence we have learned that he was at the battle of Monmouth, where, as at all other times, he acquitted himself to the perfect satisfaction of the Commander-in-Chief. Of the estimation in which he was held by Washington, we have sufficient official proof.

The loss of Forts Montgomery and Clinton on the Hudson, which were surrendered by Governor Clinton, appeared to demand an official inquiry; and by an order issued from his Head Quarters at Valley Forge, in 1778, (March 17th,) General Washington appointed Colonel Wigglesworth one of a Court of Inquiry, to be held at Peekskill, in April. The other members of the Court, were Major General Alexander MacDougall and Brigadier General Jedediah Huntington. Of this Court of Inquiry, Colonel Wigglesworth was *President*, as we find by another letter of Washington, dated 10th June, 1778, and addressed to "Colonel Edward Wigglesworth; President of a Court of Inquiry," in which some suggestions are made as to the mode of obtaining Colonel Green's evidence.

During the winter of 1779, Colonel Wigglesworth applied to the Commander-in-Chief for leave to resign. Washington replies, under date of 26th February:

* * "I have referred your letter for leave to resign, to Congress; as soon as I receive their determination I shall transmit it,

* For this, with all the other official documents, and the journal, we are indebted to Colonel Wigglesworth's daughter, Mrs. Dole of this town, and another relative, E. Wood Perry, Esq., of New Orleans.

and should it be accepted, accompany it with testimonials of your services, *however I may regret the loss of a valuable officer.*

"I am, sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"Colonel Wigglesworth."

On the 10th of March, 1779, Congress passed the following resolve :

"Resolved, That Colonel Wigglesworth's resignation be accepted, and that General Washington give him such a certificate of his past services as he shall have merited."

In accordance with this resolve, General Washington furnished Colonel Wigglesworth with the following official certificate :

"I certify that Edward Wigglesworth, Esq., hath served in the army of the United States of America, with the rank of Colonel, commanding a Regiment belonging to the State of Massachusetts Bay, and that *he uniformly supported the character of an attentive, brave and patriotic officer.*

"Given under my hand, at Head Quarters, Middle Brook, this 19th day of March, 1779.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Accompanying this we find another friendly and unofficial letter of General Washington, addressed to his late officer.

"Head Quarters, Middle Brook, 19th of March, 1779.

"Sir: I yesterday received the enclosed resolve of Congress, accepting your resignation, and directing me to give you a certificate of your services, which I also enclose. I hope your success in the line of life you are about to pursue, will fully compensate for the losses you have sustained in the service of your country, and am, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

But Colonel Wigglesworth's pecuniary prospects were already ruined by his devotion to his country. On the complete organization of the Federal Government, he was appointed by Washington Collector for the Port of Newburyport, which office he retained until ill health unfitted him for its duties.

In his old age he received a pension from the Government, through the personal friendship of President Monroe, who was serving as a Lieutenant Colonel in the army in the Jerseys, when Mr. Wigglesworth held the rank of full Colonel over the same troops.

CAPTAIN EZRA LUNT was a native of Newburyport, and raised the first volunteer company enrolled in the town for the purpose of joining the Continental army. Previous to the outbreak of the Revolution, in 1774, he commenced running the first four horse stage-coach* line between this place and Boston, and was also editorially connected with the paper started by Isaiah Thomas.

His company, (which consisted of sixty men,) being the senior of all others in the town, of course took rank of them all. He was subsequently promoted to the rank of Major, and was Commissary to that part of the Continental army in Little's Regiment. They left Newburyport on the 10th of May, 1775, and on the 12th arrived at Cambridge, where they remained attached to the army until the 16th of June, when they went to Charlestown, and intrenched on a hill beyond Bunker's. While they were securing their position a regular fire was kept up from the enemy's ships and from Copps hill. On the 17th they were engaged in the glorious battle of that day. Mr. Lunt was afterwards at the battle of Monmouth and through the Jerseys; he stood very near when General Washington rode up to meet General Lee, in that most memorable disorderly retreat, and heard distinctly the words of both,† and says that Washington, in a quick but dignified style, said, "General Lee, why this disorderly retreat, sir?" and that Lee in a passionate manner rejoined, "By G—d, sir, American soldiers can't fight British grenadiers." Washington, most justly provoked at this, retorted with equal warmth, exclaiming with emphasis, at the utmost stretch

* Who was Mr. Lunt's successor in this business we do not know; but about 1794 Mr. Jacob Hale and sons ran a four horse coach between the towns, and continued the business till the Eastern Stage Company was formed. The late Benjamin Hale, of this city, drove the first coach which ever entered the Eastern Stage-yard in Boston. In 1826 this Company had thirty-five coaches and twelve chaises—all the vehicles for the Company being constructed in Newburyport.

† From Narrative of Henry Lunt, Esq., of Boston.

of his voice, "By G-d, sir, they can fight any soldiers upon the face of the earth;" and that he then immediately gave the order to the army to "face right about, and not turn their backs on the enemy;" which orders run instantly like a flash of lightning through the whole line. The result was victory and honor, instead of disgrace to the Continental troops.

Captain Lunt was also stationed at Fishkill, near the headquarters of General Washington, in the spring of 1781. Here his brother Henry, after leaving the service of Paul Jones, called on his way home from Philadelphia to visit him. It was four years since they had seen each other.

The late Governor Eustis, who was a surgeon in the Continental army, was well acquainted with Captain Ezra Lunt, and said that he was esteemed a good officer.

Just after the war, Mr. Lunt opened a tavern in Federal street, and the "Recommendation," which innholders were then obliged to have, is preserved in the Massachusetts Records of the day. At the period of Shay's rebellion, he was, with a drafted company, ordered to march to the scene of insurrection. About a year later, Captain Lunt moved to Ohio, upon the Miami, to take up the land granted for military services. He deceased about 1808.

He had been a much respected member of the Rev. Mr. Parson's church; was possessed of an excellent voice, and for some years led the singing at his meeting-house; his temper was of rather an impatient quality — more quick to discern the faults of others than to feel his own.

His personal appearance was manly and comely; he was about five feet nine inches high, of a soldier-like deportment, with ruddy complexion, light brown hair. He was much esteemed by all the members of his company.

The following facts connected with HENRY LUNT are principally derived from a written narrative of his son, (still living,) who remarks as follows: "I was personally acquainted with some on board the Dalton; among them was a Mr. Paul Noyes, Samuel Cutler, and Mr. John [Charles] Herbert, afterwards a block-maker on the Upper Long wharf, Newburyport." As corroborative of Mr. Herbert's journal, and of the career of Captain Moses Brown,

and illustrative of the spirit which animated him and them, we have not hesitated to add the narrative of Henry Lunt, Jr., to notices already given to the men of the Revolution.

HENRY LUNT was the youngest brother of Ezra Lunt. In the autumn of 1776, he embarked in the privateer *Dalton*, commanded by Captain Eleazer Johnson. She was fitted out by Stephen Hooper, a wealthy citizen of the town.

The *Dalton* was captured by a British man-of-war the December following, and her officers and crew thrown into Mill Prison, where Mr. Lunt remained over two years, suffering the greatest possible privations. His peculiar rigorous treatment was in consequence of his twice having made the attempt to escape. On one of these occasions he received a severe wound in his thigh, in trying to force himself through the grating of the prison sewer; being caught, he was put into the "black hole," where his wound receiving no attention, mortified so that the flesh was obliged to be cut away, and the bone scraped. He finally obtained his release by a *cartel* negotiated by Benjamin Franklin, then in France; where Mr. Lunt went on obtaining his liberty, which was in the spring of 1779, and soon after, he entered on board the ship *Bon Homme Richard*, which was then fitting out at L'Orient, under the command of J. Paul Jones. He entered as a midshipman, but was speedily promoted to the station of second lieutenant, and continued in that capacity under Commodore Jones in all his cruises in the *Bon Homme Richard*, and afterwards in the ship *Alliance*, of which Jones subsequently took command; and later, in the ship *Ariel*, which left France for Philadelphia in 1781, where she arrived in February of that year. On the passage, the *Ariel* had a severe engagement with a British ship of superior force; and Jones always spoke in terms of high praise of the conduct of his young officers during that action.

"In the spring Mr. Lunt left Philadelphia for his *native place*, *Newburyport*,"* at which time Commodore Jones tendered to him an

* In the Narrative of Henry Lunt, Jr., he speaks of his father as a "native of Newburyport." Mr. Coffin speaks of him as a native of Newbury. The seeming discrepancy is reconciled by recurring to the fact that Newburyport was not incorporated until Henry Lunt was about ten years old.

open letter of recommendation. Upon his arrival home, after an unbroken absence of four years and seven months in the service of his country," he entered as first lieutenant of the ship *Intrepid*, a new vessel, pierced for twenty guns, fitted out by Nathaniel Tracy, Esq., and commanded by Captain Moses Brown. The *Intrepid* was a letter-of-marque ship, and bound on a cruise against the common enemy. She was built by the celebrated Hackett, who also built the *Alliance*.

It was soon after the *Intrepid* sailed that Commodore Jones came to Newburyport to inquire for his second lieutenant, Mr. Lunt, wishing that he might again enter the Government service with him in a new seventy-four gun ship then building for Jones at Portsmouth, and expressed his regret at not finding him. The ship *Intrepid* was absent about a year and a half with good success, when she was sold at Havana, after having safely brought from L'Orient to Baltimore, a cargo valued at *half a million* of dollars. Mr. Lunt then returned to Newburyport and entered as master into the merchant service, in the employ of Mr. Tracy, and subsequently other prominent merchants of the place.

The following is copied from the original letter which Jones gave to Mr. Lunt:

"The bearer hereof, Mr. Henry Lunt, has served under my command on board the Continental ship *Bon Homme Richard*. He was first employed by me as a midshipman at L'Orient, in the summer of 1779. He had been released from an English prison by a cartel. I soon promoted him to the station of a second lieutenant, and he continued with me in that ship as such, and was afterwards with me in the ship *Alliance* from the Texel to France, and also from thence with me in the ship *Ariel* to this port, as second lieutenant. Mr. Lunt has been with me in many trying circumstances, and has *always* behaved like a good officer, for which he has my best wishes. He had not the good fortune to be on board at the time of the engagement with the *Serapis* till the close of the action. He is included in the vote of thanks which I have been honored with by the Congress since my return to this country.

"Given under my hand at Philadelphia, May, 1781.

"CHEVALIER PAUL JONES."

Some naval historians have inadvertently included Henry Lunt in their condemnation of those subordinate officers who failed to support Paul Jones in his engagement with the *Serapis*, because he was unfortunately absent when the engagement commenced.

How he came to be absent during the fight was thus: "Some time before the engagement, and when none was expected, he with a number of picked men was ordered into a pilot-boat to reconnoitre some merchant vessels far in the offing; while absent on this duty, the *Serapis* and those with her hove in sight, and Jones immediately bore away for them, not waiting for the return of the boat, (in which there were fifteen or sixteen men,) but making a signal for her return. When the boat came up, the cannonading was in full blast from all the vessels; the only thing left for those unfortunately in the boat, was to wait for a lull, and save themselves for use at the critical moment of expected surrender, as they did, just as it was altering which was victor and which was vanquished. Particularly opportune was the assistance of the pilot-boat's crew, as they were reliable men, while there were many prisoners and others untrustworthy, who needed to be looked after at the time of the surrender."

Cooper (Vol. 4, p. 200,) thus speaks of the closing scene of the engagement. "By this time, Mr. Lunt, the 2d Lieutenant, who had been absent in the pilot-boat, had got alongside and was on board the prize. To this officer Mr. Dale (the 1st Lieutenant,) now consigned the charge of the *Serapis*, the cable was cut and the ship followed the *Richard* as ordered. Although the protracted and bloody contest had now ended, neither the dangers nor the labors of the victors were over. The *Richard* was both sinking and on fire; the flames had extended so as to menace the magazine, while the pumps in constant use, could barely keep the water at the same level. In this manner did the night of the battle pass, contending with the flames till the 24th. The following night and morning of the succeeding day, about 10, the *Bon Homme Richard* wallowed heavy, gave a roll and settled into the sea, bows foremost."

In the year 1800, at New London, Mr. Henry Lunt of Boston, son of Lieutenant Lunt, met Lieutenant (then Captain) Dale, who remarked to him, "Well, my young friend, your father and I have been in many trying situations together; he always did his duty well, and was a good officer."

But all doubt on this subject must be set at rest by the fact that though Commodore Jones publicly charged some of the commanders with "keeping back," he never uttered a word of complaint against his young lieutenants, Henry and Cutting Lunt, but always spoke in favor of them. On the occasion when he meditated a descent upon the town of Leithe, he was overruled by the other commanders in the squadron; but he says emphatically, "My young lieutenants on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, gave to this plan their hearty assent."

The solution of the conduct of the insubordinate captains lay in their jealousy of the Commodore, whom they could not bear to see bearing off all the honors. Mr. Henry Lunt was accustomed to say "they hated Jones, and misrepresented him because he knew more than all of them together." In the early naval history of this country we find a degree of insubordination in the navy, perfectly incompatible with proper discipline on shipboard.

Mr. Lunt's affidavit was made use of against the Captain of the *Alliance*, "for firing into the *Richard* while lashed to the *Serapis*, disobedience of orders, &c."

The following is an extract from an affidavit made by the late Moses Davenport, Esq., before a justice of the peace in this town, and which was taken for the purpose of securing the pension to Lieutenant Lunt's widow:

* * "Said John Paul Jones called on me and made inquiry after the said Lunt. On being informed that he was absent by sea, Captain Jones expressed great regret. He stated that he was then on his way to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, on business for the Government, respecting a large ship of seventy-four guns, then, as I understood him, about to be built there; that his object in making inquiry at that time for Captain Lunt, was to ascertain whether the Government might not avail themselves of his services. He spoke of him in his service on board the *Bon Homme Richard*, and remarked that he should prefer him as an officer in the service, to any he had ever known. * * *

"MOSES DAVENPORT.

"Newburyport, October 4th, 1838."

Captain Brown was wont to say that Mr. Lunt was "one of the best seamen and officers he had known," and his experience was by

no means limited. After the peace, Mr. Lunt sailed as commander for Mr. Tracy, while the latter continued in business, and afterwards for Messrs. Brown & Bartlett, Faris & Stocker, and others, making some twenty-five voyages as commander; in all, about sixty.

After Mr. Lunt returned from his cruises in the *Intrepid*, he became a member of St. John's Lodge, when Stephen Hooper was the presiding officer. "Many of its members," says the narrator, "I recollect seeing in their processions; among them was Bishop Bass, Nathaniel and John Tracy, Dr. J. B. Swett, Colonel Wigglesworth, Captain Moses Brown, Eleazer Johnson, (Captain of the *Dalton*,) Joseph and Samuel Cutler, General Titcomb, &c. After this he became a member of the Marine Society of Newburyport, composed only of sea-captains. Among the members of this Society was Captain William Coombs, (whose memory, for his virtues, should always be venerated,) Eleazer Johnson, Nicholas Johnson, Moses Brown, Abraham Wheelwright, William P. Johnson; a more worthy association of shipmasters could not be mentioned."

The widow of Mr. Henry Lunt received a pension from Government, and the claim made by her for prize money was admitted, agreeably to the muster-roll adjustment, made up at the Marine Department in France, in 1784, under the advice and direction of Commodore Jones, who placed against Mr. Lunt's name the same sum as was paid the highest grade of officers, except the Commander. Mr. Lunt died in 1805. He was a lineal descendant of Henry Lunt, one of the original grantees of Newbury. His wife was also descended from one of these original grantees—Henry Short. The land then allotted to him (1635) has descended in unbroken inheritance, (these 200 years,) and is now owned by his posterity of the same name. Mr. Lunt's early education was scanty, but he possessed himself of much useful knowledge, particularly what was necessary to make a complete shipmaster, and he spoke French with facility. There is a miniature of Henry Lunt, painted by Peel, in Philadelphia. He and Paul Jones were so nearly of a size, being of medium height, that their clothes would suit each other.

The pension to Henry Lunt's widow to the time of her decease, (1838,) was received by their son, to the amount of \$1,435.60. The amount due him for prize money from the captures made

while Jones commanded the squadron, in the *Bon Homme Richard*, was fr.4,089 12 5. But of this, only \$387.40 was paid, (though the full sum was admitted,) because the "Prize Fund," so called, failed, the sum named being all that was left, at the time of the application, in the hands of the auditor.

DANIEL LUNT, the second brother, was previous to the Revolution master of the brig *Lively*, of Newburyport, and is honorably mentioned in an article, published by request of the town authorities in the *Essex Journal*, April 19, 1776. In this year he also embarked in the privateer *Dalton*, and was fellow-prisoner with his brother Henry in Mill Prison. After the peace he sailed as commander for David Coates, of this town. He died in 1787.

CUTTING LUNT (second cousin to the brothers Ezra, Daniel and Henry,) while third acting lieutenant of the *Bon Homme Richard*, while in pursuit of a boat's crew which had deserted, was enveloped in a dense fog and lost sight of. It is supposed that the men forcibly carried the boat ashore and landed, and that Cutting Lunt was returned to Mill Prison, from which he had escaped. After much suffering, he returned to his native place, Newburyport, before the war was ended, and made a short cruise in a privateer called the "*America*," belonging to Joseph Marquand. On her second cruise, the *America* was lost and never heard of more; Cutting Lunt being on board, was of course also lost, and no more heard from. His heirs received the prize money due him.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM FARRIS, a native of Belfast, Ireland, but a resident of Massachusetts from the age of twelve years, and long a citizen of Newburyport, early engaged as an officer in the navy of the United States when the war of the Revolution called on every man to make his election between liberty and slavery. Mr. Farris joined the American army in that glorious, though romantic expedition, under Arnold and Montgomery, against Quebec, and was employed by the former in many responsible stations. He had committed to him the care of the supplies, and of sundry vessels, together with the command of the schooner *Isabella*, a transport for supplies to the troops then stationed at Montreal, where he

remained till the middle of June, when the expedition being abandoned, he obtained passports from Colonel Burr and returned home. In the same year, he joined the frigate *Boston*, at Newburyport, as midshipman, and made a cruise in her, and afterwards served the American cause in the *Hancock*, and subsequently as lieutenant and commander of several privateers, until the peace. He was more than once captured, and experienced all the sufferings of a rigorous confinement on board the prison-ships of the enemy.

At the close of the war, having been for a brief period in the employ of those well-known merchants, Jackson and Tracy, he commenced his mercantile career under the firm of Farris & Stocker.* Mr. Farris was for some time President of the Marine Insurance Company of Newburyport, and for several successive years represented the town in the Legislature of the State, and so much to the approbation of his constituents, that his unsought resignation, induced by the approaching infirmities of age, alone put a period to his public services in this capacity. He died at the age of eighty-four, leaving an unsullied reputation as a man and an officer.

JOHN BARNARD SWETT, M. M. S. S., who commenced practice as a physician and surgeon in Newburyport in 1780, was born in Marblehead, 1752, but was descended from John Swett, one of the ninety-one original grantees of Newbury, who was admitted to the freedom of the Massachusetts Colony as early as the 18th of May, 1642.*

Dr. Swett graduated at Harvard in 1767, and was destined by his guardian, the Rev. John Barnard, of Marblehead, for the ministry; but about the time of his receiving his degree he was accidentally present at the post mortem examination of some persons who had come to a violent death; and was so interested that it fixed his choice of a profession, and he determined to study surgery; for which purpose he went to Edinburgh, where he remained three years under the instruction of Dr. William Cullen, enjoying the best society which the literary capital of Scotland could afford, particu-

* It was with this firm that Oliver Putnam, the founder of the "Putnam Free School," received his mercantile education.

† *Vide* pamphlet entitled "Mementos of the Swett Family," p. 6.

larly that of Mr. Hume and Dr. Robertson. He afterwards perfected his medical education by attending on the hospitals of France and England, and returned to America in 1778, where he joined the American army, under Sullivan, as a surgeon, at the time of the expedition to Rhode Island, and was in the tent with one of the General's aids, John S. Sherburn, Esq., when a cannon ball took off the leg of the latter. Dr. Swett's name is included in the order book of General Sullivan under date of September 27, 1778, in which the commander-in-chief takes the opportunity "to return his most sincere and cordial thanks for the unwearied care and attention which the surgeons paid to the wounded of the army," and to whose "unparalleled exertions and skill" is ascribed the preservation of many valuable lives and brave officers, whose wounds must otherwise have proved fatal.

Dr. Swett was the next year in the disastrous expedition to Penobscot, and when the army was disbanded and left officerless, with his surgical instruments in his knapsack, he travelled over fifty miles, through an unbroken wilderness, to the settlements on the Kennebec, and from thence he came to Newburyport, to which place he was invited by several of the leading men in the town, to some of whom he was also allied by birth. Here he rose rapidly in his profession, and soon surrounded himself with a large circle of admiring friends. He was eminently social in his temperament, which greatly facilitated his professional progress. He was a member of the Masonic Fraternity, whose convivial habits suited his ardent disposition. Through his influence, mainly, the first Encampment of Knights Templars was formed in the United States. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and for several years Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

In the summer of 1796, when our town was visited by the then unknown disease to this vicinity, yellow fever, Dr. Swett exposed himself without reservation to its malignant influences; to him many of the suffering looked for relief, and no personal consideration of safety could induce him to desert them in this extremity. He was constantly called among the victims of this terrible disease; and with fidelity exerted all the resources within his reach for their relief. The consequence was, he himself took the disease, which

was neither thoroughly understood by himself nor other physicians then here, and died — a martyr to his professional duties. He left a wife, daughter of Hon. William Bourne, and four sons, to share with the town and his native place the deep grief experienced at his loss.

RIGHT REV. EDWARD BASS, D. D., the first Bishop of Massachusetts, was a native of Dorchester,* Massachusetts, and received his collegiate education at Harvard University, which he entered at the age of thirteen, and where he graduated in 1744. After leaving college, and while pursuing his theological studies, he was much of the time engaged in teaching. He was for some time connected with the Congregational denomination, and accepted a license to preach from them. But becoming dissatisfied with this connection, he turned his attention to the church to which he subsequently conformed, and was in 1751 chosen by Mr. Plant, then minister of the church, as his assistant. The next year he visited England, for the purpose of Episcopal ordination, which he obtained, and soon after returned to Newburyport, under the patronage of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Here, on the death of Mr. Plant, in 1753, he succeeded to the Rectorship of St. Paul's.

On the breaking out of the Revolution, Mr. Bass, in common with the Episcopal clergy of that day, was called upon to make his election between the ecclesiastical authority which he had been accustomed to revere, and his country, which claimed his talents and his influence. Eminently a man of peace, Mr. Bass would, in this controversy, have been willingly overlooked, and allowed quietly to proceed with his accustomed duties, without taking a decisive stand on either side, though disposed, according to his own account, to favor the royal cause. Appointed to his office by the Society in London, he must doubtless have felt himself under peculiar obligations, which were not laid upon the rest of the community. But he was not permitted to indulge his predilections in quietude; the question with him soon assumed a practical shape. English prayer books were in the hands of his parishioners, but the request soon

* On being asked why he left Dorchester, he replied, "The brooks there are not large enough for *bass* to swim in."

came, "that he should omit the prayers for the king;" then came "Fast days," appointed by the Provincial Congress, which he dared not omit to observe, and lastly came the Declaration of Independence, which he was required to read in the church. What could our loyal minister do under these circumstances? We will let him tell his own story. He had been accused to the Society in London of having "favored the rebellion." The following is an extract from his reply, dated December 29th, 1783:

"That I showed a readiness to keep all the Congress fasts, as Dr. Morice hath been informed, is not true. I complied with much reluctance. It is indeed true that I did generally open my church on those days, but *not in consequence* of orders, or demands, from any rebel authority whatever, none of whose papers I ever once read in church, but at the earnest request of my parishioners, who represented it to me, as the only probable way of saving the church from destruction, while people in general were in such a frenzy."

But his disclaimers were not satisfactory to the Society in London, several persons having represented to them that Mr. Bass had favored the rebellion, and the climax of the argument against him was, *his remaining in Newburyport!* The Secretary of the Venerable Society says, (January, 1782,) in reply to one who had tried to convince them of Mr. Bass's loyalty, "If Mr. Bass had been *truly loyal*, I can't see how it was possible for him to stay at Newburyport, a place so much in favor of the other part." *

Fortunately for the church worshipping at St. Paul's, the arguments of his enemies prevailed, and the London Society refused him all further aid, and he was thus thrown on the generosity of his parishioners, who, rightly estimating his valuable qualities as a man, a scholar and a divine, gave him at once their cordial support; willingly forgetting his disposition to pray for the king, and his neglect of the provincial fasts. Six years later, in 1789, the degree of D. D. was conferred on Mr. Bass by the University of Pennsylvania; and in 1796 Dr. Bass was elected Bishop of Massachusetts, (being the first person who attained to that office in this State,) and was consecrated by Bishop White, at Philadelphia. He retained his

* Appendix to the "Frontier Missionary," by Rev. William S. Bartlett.

connection with St. Paul's church, Newburyport, for fifty-one years. He died in 1808, aged 77.

REV. GEORGE WHITFIELD.

Of the REV. GEORGE WHITFIELD, who exerted so great and permanent an influence in Newburyport, we do not design to speak at length, as his memoirs may readily be obtained by all interested in the details of his eventful life.

He preached for the first time in Newbury, (now Newburyport,) September 30th, 1740 — then a young man about twenty-six years of age. He delivered his first sermon in the old meeting-house belonging to the First Society, (Rev. J. Lowell's,) then standing in Market square. Having made a brief visit to the District of Maine, he returned here, and preached again, with his usual extraordinary effect; and from this time forward, made frequent, and several lengthy visits to Newburyport. The week previous to his death, he preached four times in Portsmouth, N. H., and on the Saturday afternoon at Exeter, and then rode to Newburyport, where he expected to preach on the Sabbath. But it was ordered otherwise. His violent exertions brought on a paroxysm of asthma, a complaint to which he was subject, and he died early on the ensuing Sabbath morning, September 30th, 1770 — just thirty years from the date of his first visit to the town.

His death excited much interest throughout the country.* When the news of his decease reached Portsmouth, where he had so recently preached, the bells were tolled from eleven o'clock A. M., to near sunset.*

The house where he died is situated on the lower side of School street, the second from the church, where his tomb was built and his bones still rest; they being placed in a vault under the pulpit of the First Presbyterian church, in which he had usually preached when in this town, and which was mainly brought into existence through his influence.

Mr. Whitfield's friends in England were exceedingly anxious that his remains should be returned to his native place for interment; and some years subsequent, an individual having visited his tomb,

* Annals of Portsmouth.

of good natural sense and fervent piety. His style of preaching was earnest, energetic, and subject to impassioned flights of oratory, not unfrequently dealing in original, totally unexpected, and grotesque illustrations, which indelibly imprinted the thing to be remembered, on the minds of his hearers. Like most of the preachers of that day, he dealt liberally in the discussions of doctrinal points in his preaching; and in his treatment of these there was no temporizing. He expressed his convictions, which were evangelical, in a manner at once lucid and decided.

His ideas of preaching were somewhat exclusive. The modern fashion of introducing social and political themes into the Sabbath day services, appeared to him an impropriety, and a swerving from the true intent of the gospel ordinance of preaching. Towards the close of his ministry the discussions of slavery and temperance began to invade the church, and, as he thought, were made paramount to the inculcation of harmonious Christian doctrine. To one who inopportunately pressed one of these subjects upon him, and urged him to use his influence "as a Christian minister," he rather tartly, but with much truth, replied, "When I first came here, the business of a Christian minister was to preach the gospel and to save souls; now it is all rum and niggers." Yet he was not apt to deceive himself with professions of godliness without good evidence in the life. On one occasion, at a convention of ministers, where each gave some account of the state of their respective churches, and many had unhesitatingly spoken of the addition to their churches, as so many souls saved from perdition, Mr. Milton being called on, rose and remarked, "The present year — persons have professed religion in my parish; the Lord only knows whether they have got it or not."

He was apt to express his feelings without circumlocution, and sometimes curtly; as when a young graduate having preached in his pulpit during the morning and afternoon service, — discourses which he deemed devoid of all pith and substance, — he on rising to give out the notices, said with great emphasis, "There will be a meeting here this evening, at early candlelight. I SHALL PREACH MYSELF."

Mr. Milton was unfortunate in his domestic relations, his wife being neither remarkable for spirituality nor amiability of temper;

his life-long journey through, his feet were pierced with the thorns that grow in a disunited household. This circumstance not unfrequently placed him in positions unfavorable to the exercise of those hospitable, friendly and neighborly offices to which his disposition would have prompted, had domestic sympathy permitted, and also helped to develop that *brusque* manner of speaking, not originally mingled with acerbity. Yet those who were intimately acquainted with him never doubted his piety, though strangers were often more impressed with his oddities. An individual who had been fully aware of his domestic trials, on hearing of his death, immediately exclaimed, "What a change! — from pitching skillets, to handling harps." And this was the general feeling of the community.

In person he was short and stout, his features (as may be seen in the engraving,) strongly marked; and he wore his hair, which was black, in long, thick curls around his neck. A peculiar hat which he at one time wore, with a long overcoat reaching almost to his heels, with a capacious waistcoat and knee breeches, presented a *tout ensemble* which was not inaptly compared to the "Jack of Clubs." Indeed, he was so commonly called "Jack," that many persons who knew him for years, supposed his name to be John. He died suddenly and unexpectedly, though he had been ill and confined to his bed for some weeks, on the 1st of May, 1837, aged 70, leaving one son and three daughters. His eldest daughter, named Selina in honor of his benefactress, the Countess of Huntingdon, died young.

JACOB PERKINS was born at Newburyport, July 9th, 1766, being descended from one of the first settlers of Ipswich. He early showed traits of that mechanical genius which distinguished him in after life. At twelve years of age he was apprenticed to a goldsmith, a Mr. Davis, of Newburyport, who died when young Perkins had been with him but three years, which circumstance, though it deprived him of much instruction he would otherwise have received, furnished an opportunity for the exercise of something nobler than genius — a self-denial and generosity, rare, and perhaps unequalled, in one of his age. He was but fifteen, yet the widow and children of Mr. Davis looked to him as the means of their support; and he did not disappoint them. Relinquishing the opportunity Providence had thrown in his way of shortening by six years his term of service, he nobly devoted himself to the interests of his late master's family,

carried on the business successfully and profitably, giving up all of its emoluments to their support. The principal articles manufactured were gold beads and shoe-buckles. For these latter, Perkins discovered a new mode of plating, by which he made as good an article, at a less price than they could be imported for. And now commenced that long series of inventions which has linked the name of Perkins with so many articles of ornament and utility. Before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, each State issued its own coin; die-making was then a new art in America, but at the age of twenty-one, Jacob Perkins, on account of his improvement in dies, and his skill in executing, was employed by the Government in the issue of copper coin, an office in which several older and more experienced men had failed. Three years later he invented a machine for cutting and heading nails by one simple operation. But this, which deserved and promised a speedy and abundant reward, was the means of reducing the young inventor to the brink of pecuniary ruin. He formed a copartnership with a couple of designing adventurers, who succeeded in securing to themselves the first and only profits of the factory they established, and finally left the country, and their debts, to be paid by their unsuspecting, because perfectly honest, partner. By the assistance of friends, however, the creditors were pacified, and the business recommenced under better auspices.

Mr. Perkins's next important invention was a check-plate for the purpose of preventing the possibility of counterfeiting bank bills. So valuable was this considered that the Legislature passed a law making Mr. Perkins's stereotype plate the only legal plate on which to print bank bills for this Commonwealth. Very few attempts were ever made to counterfeit them, and none were successful, no indictment having been made for an imitation of this plate, though counterfeiting in other States was peculiarly successful during this period.

But perhaps his discovery of the compressibility of water was the most valuable result of his researches. And this led him to the invention of the *bathometer*, an instrument with which to measure the depth of water; and another, peculiarly interesting to the nautical man, the *pleometer*, by which the exact velocity of a vessel through the water may be ascertained. A mere enumera-

tion of Mr. Perkins's inventions and improvements would occupy more space than we have to give; they are fortunately preserved in various works accessible to the curious in such matters.

Perkins was a man of compact and athletic frame, and descended from a family of remarkable longevity. That he by his enthusiasm sometimes deceived himself, may be true, but never did he wilfully or intentionally impose upon the ignorance of others; but like so many of the class of inventive geniuses, let slip, through want of sufficient care, the opportunity of profiting pecuniarily by many of his inventions; which were thus greedily snatched up and appropriated by others. But of this he never complained; a more unselfish man does not grace the list of our biographical annals. He left Newburyport in 1816, and resided for some time in Philadelphia, from whence he went to England, where his inventive talents met with more encouragement and profitable employment. He was recognized there by the title of the "American Inventor." He died in London, at the house of his son, in Regent's Square, on the 11th of July, 1849, aged 84.

The names of STEPHEN and RALPH CROSS were eminent among the active men in the town for many years after its incorporation. Stephen was the first selectman chosen by the town.* When about twenty-five years of age, he was employed by the (colonial) Government to assist in the construction of a flotilla for the lakes, (1756,) and was taken by the French at the siege of Fort Oswego, when he was carried prisoner to France.

Both he and Ralph were ship-builders, and conjointly built for the State the frigates Hancock, Boston, and Protector. They were both members of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence, and were actively engaged in public affairs during the Revolutionary war. Stephen died in 1809, aged 78.

RALPH, born in 1738, was a captain in the militia, and joined the northern army in 1777. He joined the camp at Stillwater on the 14th of October, and was in the battle which preceded the surrender of Burgoyne, and was early engaged in the action. After the peace, he was made a Brigadier General, and filled other honorable offices. He died in 1800.

*See Town Records.

From the original journal which Stephen Cross kept, we learn that the following persons accompanied him to Fort Oswego, under contract to build vessels there for the Government, viz. : James Bagley (or Bayley), Benjamin Chandler, Joseph Goodhue, Jesse Worcester, Matthew Pettengill, Phillip Stanwood, Ebenezer Swazy, John Wyett, Abner Dole, Paul Currier, John Mitchell, John Nowell, Joseph Wormwell, William Coombs, Moses Cross, Robert Mitchell, and Phillip Coombs ; the two last named were uncles of Stephen Cross, and Moses Cross was also a relative. They were employed for some time on the Mohawk river, making boats, in which to transport provisions to Fort Oswego, (on the eastern shore of Lake Ontario,) and accompanied an expedition thither, reaching the fort on the 14th of May, 1756. Here they commenced building vessels for the fleet. Being continually annoyed by hostile Indians hovering round, and subject to incursions of small parties of them, while engaged in cutting timber, in the woods, many were killed or taken prisoners while thus engaged. On the 24th of May, it being a very dark night, the Indians attacked the fort, but after some hard fighting, were repulsed. A drunken soldier who had laid out in the woods over night, came into the fort in the morning *without his scalp* ; but could give no account of how he lost it ! In August, a French fleet was collected on the lake, and on the 12th kept up a continual fire on Fort Ontario, (this was a secondary kind of fort, which helped to protect the main fort, Oswego,) which was abandoned the next day. A little fort, a short distance from the others, built so badly as to be called Fort Rascal, answered for a temporary shelter for a few hours ; but on the 14th, the French fire told with such effect on Oswego, (the commandant, Colonel Mercer, being killed,) that the besieged were reduced to capitulate, and no better terms could be obtained than the unconditional surrender of the fort, all the garrison (including the carpenters,) to be prisoners of war.

On the 19th of August the men were embarked in small boats, to be sent to Quebec. On the passage, one of the Newbury men, Chandler, died ; and while encamped at Montreal, Jesse Worcester died. The rest reached Quebec, where they were placed in stone barracks, at the north-west part of the city. Here they remained for some weeks. On the 29th of September, three Newbury men, Stephen Hunt, John Blake and John Platts, with others, were

drafted out and sent to England. On the 14th of October, the Newbury carpenters were drafted out and sent to France; one hundred and forty-four men being crowded into a small vessel, of about 500 tons.

Mr. Cross graphically describes this voyage, complaining only of the *company* into which they were thrust. They were kept short of provisions and closely confined; but for this latter he says, "we could not blame them, for we had determined to rise on them, if any opportunity occurred promising success." But seventy of the soldiers were of Shirley's regiment, enlisted at the South, and Mr. Cross judged from their conduct, were transported British convicts. The Newbury carpenters, with some other New Englanders, refused to associate with them, dividing the ship's steerage into two compartments, and not suffering a soldier to cross the line. In all their difficulties, in which appeal was made to the officers, Mr. Cross says, "we had the advantage, for uncle Phillip Coombs could speak French well, and none of the soldiers could."

On November 14 they landed at Brest, and were from thence, after some detention, removed to Dijon. All through their journey, and in the last named prison, the Newbury men begged the privilege of their guard, to be allowed to have separate quarters from those disorderly soldiers at night; "their conduct being such," says the journal, "that there was no sympathy between us, though we were fellow sufferers." While in prison, Mr. Cross wrote to Mr. Witter Cummings,* in England, (who had a business partner in Newbury,) for whom his father, Mr. Ralph Cross, had built many vessels, for money to aid them in buying food, as they were kept extremely short on the government allowance. "Most of us being personally known to Mr. Cummings," says the narrator, "I thought he would be the most likely of any one to help us."

At Dijon a fatal sickness broke out among the prisoners. On December 30th, Mr. William Coombs went to the hospital sick; then in succession Joseph Goodhue, Moses Cross, Joseph Bagley, John Wyett, Mr. Phillip Coombs, and Robert Mitchell, and on the 22d of January, Mr. Cross and Paul Currier went together. The first thing the narrator saw on entering the hospital, was a man turning

* See page 72.

off the cloth from a body, to show to an attendant that the individual was dead, and this corpse, to his grief and horror, he found was his uncle Phillip Coombs ; and his record of his feelings at this sight, is a touching testimonial to the beautiful character of the deceased, "to whom," says the journalist, "I looked up as to a father, for advice in all things."

On being removed to the ward room, which he and Mr. Carrier were to occupy, he found there his relative, Moses Cross, in a violent fever, and quite senseless.

Here the journal ceases, Mr. Cross's illness probably preventing his writing more. That he recovered, was returned to his native country, and did good service to his native town, the early records of Newburyport amply witness ; while the records of the First Presbyterian church, of which he was a member, also testify to his liberality, and the interest which he felt in all that pertained to the prosperity of the "Old South."

CHARLES HERBERT, son of John Herbert, of Newburyport, was taken prisoner on the capture of the privateer Dalton, by the British man-of-war Reasonable, on the 24th of December,* 1776. The crew were carried immediately to England, and kept on board prison ships for some months, till sickness broke out among them, when they were removed to the hospital, and those that recovered were then transported to the Old Mill Prison at Plymouth. From a journal kept by Mr. Herbert, from the 15th of November, when the Dalton sailed from Newburyport, we learn that the crew were all tried for treason, and committed to prison to take their trial at some future time. During the whole period of their incarceration, the government allowance of food was so short, that rats were caught and eaten, snails picked out of the walls of the prison yard and boiled for food, and on one occasion, a dog belonging to some of the officials was killed, cooked, and eaten by these starving men. Some of them, among whom was Mr. Herbert, immediately set to work making ladles, boxes and other small wooden things, for sale to visitors, Mr. Herbert having first persuaded a carpenter who came to see them to furnish him with wood for the purpose. By this occu-

* See page 114.

pation the journalist made enough money to clothe himself comfortably, buy some books, — (he learnt navigation while in prison,) — and to assist others who were less fortunate or competent than himself.

Reports frequently came to them of disasters to the American arms, but Mr. Herbert steadfastly refused to believe that his country could ever be conquered; and on the 4th of July, 1778, having then been over eighteen months in prison, the crew of the Dalton, with others, celebrated the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, by making miniature American flags for their hats, with patriotic inscriptions attached, mustering in the prison yard, drawing up in thirteen divisions, and giving thirteen cheers, and then all uniting heartily in the same. They also heard, while there, of the capture of Burgoyne, and celebrated the anniversary of that event. But there were some few, whom Mr. Herbert calls "chiefly inconsiderate youths," who, for the sake of getting out of prison, petitioned to go on board His Britannic Majesty's ships of war. Whereupon it was decided to draw up a Declaration of Allegiance to the American Congress, and to renewedly plight their mutual faith, never to desert the patriot cause. This Mr. Herbert signed, as did a majority of the others. The whole of this journal is exceedingly interesting, but the press of other matter forbids our making extracts from it, which is the less to be regretted, as it is in print, and may therefore be easily procured.* Mr. Herbert was finally released, and went to France, where he shipped with J. Paul Jones in the Alliance, and continued in his service until August, 1780, when he returned to Newburyport, having been absent nearly four years, and between two and three years a prisoner.

ENOCH TITCOMB, a native of this town, and a descendant of William Titcomb, one of the first settlers of Newbury served as a brigade major under General Sullivan, during the campaign in Rhode Island; after the peace he held various town offices, and was subsequently Representative and Senator during a long term of years. He deceased in 1814 at the age of 62.

JONATHAN TITCOMB, the first naval officer in this District, (appointed by Washington in 1789,) also commanded a regiment of

* Published by ——— Pierce, Boston.

militia in the expedition to Rhode Island, and attained the rank of brigadier general. He was a member of the Convention for forming the State Constitution, and was a member of the first General Court held in Boston after its evacuation by the British.

Others, whom our limited space obliges us briefly to enumerate, will prove valuable material for the future biographer; among whom stands prominently *Dudley A. Tyng, LL. D.*, who in 1795 was appointed by Washington, Collector for the District of Newburyport. He was a man of strong mind, eminently practical and benevolent. While Collector, his attention was drawn to the condition of the Isle of Shoals, by the supposition of the people there, that they were attached to his district, and he took active measures, (in connection with other benevolent individuals) to renovate the condition of the inhabitants. The Rev. Stephen A. Tyng, Rector of St. George's church in New York, is his son, and was born in Newburyport, as were also the Rev. *Charles Coffin*, President of Greenville College, Tennessee; *Amos Pettengill*, tutor of Yale College; William Boyde, the poet, and *Samuel H. Parsons*, son of the Rev. Jonathan P. Parsons, who was a major general of the Revolutionary army and an aid to Washington, by whom he was subsequently appointed Governor of the North-west territory; *Stephen Hooper*, son of Stephen Hooper, a distinguished merchant of Newburyport, and a graduate of Harvard College, who at the early age of twenty-five was chosen Representative to the General Court; *Micajah Sawyer, D. D.*, *Michael Hodge, Dr. Francis Vergenis, Moses Brown, Esq.*, an eminent merchant, founder of the Brown Grammar School in Newburyport, and an associate founder of Andover Theological Seminary, and others.

Among the living we may mention three Professors of Harvard University, Theophilus Parsons, Cornelius C. Felton, and George R. Noyes; also Leonard Woods, Jr., President of Bowdoin College, and Benjamin Hale, President of Geneva College. The names even, of the clergymen, teachers and editors throughout the country, who belong to Newburyport, would make too long a list for our limits; while the business men, who like Stetson of New York, William Wheelwright in Chili, Dr. Joseph Whitmore in Peru, and Gunnison on the Amazon, with others of like enterprise, scattered over the

face of the earth, will show that the past generation have left worthy successors who claim Newburyport as their birthplace.

Of writers Newburyport can produce fair specimens in different departments of literature: as a jurist, the Attorney General of the United States, Hon. Caleb Cushing; as a Polemical writer, Daniel Dana, D. D.; as a poet, Hon. George Lunt; as a translator, Rev. Thomas Tracy, whose versions of the German have received the meed of praise from critical linguists; while others of more or less note may be found in other departments of literature.

On reviewing our biographical list we are struck with the marked difference between the men and women of Newburyport. Comparatively few women natives of, and educated in Newburyport, have attained any literary distinction. The contrast is remarkable, and the cause equally obvious. The history of the public schools is the sufficient explanation. Until within the last dozen years, no female was liberally educated by the town. And the provisions for education by a town are unequivocal evidence of the state of the public sentiment in it, which was, until this recent period, adverse to the liberal education of females. The natural consequence was the almost entire absence of literary talent among the female portion of the community. We meet with evidence continually, of the existence of women whose natural talents evidently fitted them to take the first place in intellectual circles, but their minds were not so quickened by suitable instruction as to dare utterance; this they were forbidden by the leaden atmosphere which surrounded and restricted them to a lower strata in the intellectual world, than was accorded to their sons and brothers, their mental gifts being allowed to rust out in the monotony of a circumscribed life, and a narrow circle of ideas. And so, generation after generation of these "mute, inglorious" Sapphos have passed away and left not a trace behind. Of the few who have broken through the trammels of fashion, and devoted themselves to literature, we shall make brief mention. And while recording the fact of the paucity of *literary* females, we may justly add another, — that though the tone of public opinion was depressing to any efforts of this kind, the social, moral, and benevolent character of the women of Newburyport, stands intrinsically and comparatively high; women of sound sense, polished

manners and Christian lives, have successively adorned the domestic circle, and the next, if not the present generation, bid fair to obliterate all those mental inequalities which have heretofore resulted from inadequate educational facilities.

Miss Hannah Gould is by far the most popular authoress that Newburyport has produced, but her pen is still active and prolific, and needs no eulogy from ours. The late *Miss Anna Cabot Lowell*, a daughter of Judge Lowell of Newburyport, was a woman of fine talents, and both a poetical and prose writer. *Mrs. George Lee* (now of Boston,) a daughter of Dr. Micajah Sawyer of this place, has also given to the world some volumes, few in number, but of meritorious design and well executed. The late *Miss Lucy Hooper*, daughter of Joseph Hooper, Esq., of Newburyport, was a poetess of rare merit, whose early death (in her twenty-fifth year) blighted the hopes of a large circle of friends who anticipated much from her pen when her early gifts should have ripened into maturity. Her prose writings were collected in two volumes, and her "Poetical Remains" form one volume of large size. This contains many poems of much merit; one, on the Daughter of Herodias, was included in Mr. Bryant's collection of "American Poetry."

Lucy Hooper was born in Newburyport in February, 1816. Her father was a highly respectable merchant, who yet found leisure from the cares and anxieties of business, to devote some portion of his time to literature; he was a person of considerable cultivation, and a justifiable pride in the early indications which his daughter gave of unusual ability, made it his most grateful occupation to superintend her education. The opportunities afforded her were eagerly improved, so that it became necessary to restrain her inclination for study, rather than by any means to incite her to mental application. But she was apparently unconscious of her own powers, and like many a child of genius who has early sunk into a "laurel crowned tomb," was always of a fragile constitution and of delicate health.

When she was about fifteen years of age the family removed to Brooklyn, New York, but Lucy always retained a passionate love for her native town, and frequent visits to it helped to keep alive the associations formed in her early youth. Many of her poems have reference to scenes and persons in Newburyport. The Merri-mac was ever "the bright river of her heart," and St. Paul's

church, where her early religious impressions were received, was the shrine to which her memory turned as the birthplace of her religious faith, and Dr. Morse was the ideal Rector which no after observation or wider experience could dim or supplant. Shortly after taking up her residence at Brooklyn, Miss Hooper became an occasional contributor to the columns of the "Long Island Star," under the simple initials of L. H., and these contributions were greatly admired and widely copied. Her style was pure and her diction strong, while her copiousness of language was much augmented by her knowledge of the Latin, French, and Spanish languages, and her extensive historical readings, and acquaintance with classic English literature, placed her early productions in the same rank with efforts of much more mature minds. In 1840 she published a volume which met with wide acceptance, entitled "Scenes from Real Life," and about the same time received a prize for an Essay upon Domestic Happiness. These were subjects calculated to draw forth her best efforts, for all her characteristics were eminently womanly. Genuine maidenly modesty shone in every word and deed. To her own home, and to her familiar friends, her memory is hallowed by a thousand thoughts which no language can convey.

She had been a contributor to the "New Yorker," and during her last illness was engaged in preparing a work for the press, entitled the "Poetry of Flowers," which did not appear until after her decease. She had also projected and partly prepared a volume of Tales and Essays, and another of Religious and Moral Stories for the young. Her fatal complaint was consumption. She died on the 1st of August, 1841.

Mrs. Ann Porter, a pleasant writer for youth, whose "Letters to a Young Mother" have recently been published, is a native of Newburyport, and sister of the late Rev. John E. Emerson.

Mrs. Jane Greenleaf, whose memoirs have recently been compiled and published by her daughter, was a woman of superior natural gifts; but these were diverted by outward circumstances from taking a purely literary form, and were turned almost exclusively into benevolent and religious directions, as was that of the subject of the next paragraph.

Mary B. Crocker, wife of Rev Wm. Crocker, of Newburyport, was a devoted missionary of the Baptist Board, who in civilized and heathen lands was equally the devoted servant of Christ, and a bright intellectual ornament of the circles which were favored with her presence.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX

North East Massachusetts first visited by Cabot,	1497
“ “ “ “ “ “ Gosnold,	1602
“ “ “ “ “ “ Martin Pring,	1603
“ “ “ “ “ “ Captain John Smith,	1614
Pawtuckets overrun by Tarratines and Pequods,	1615
Destructive epidemic sickness among Indians,	1617
Sale of territory to a company of six gentlemen,	1628
Merrimac visited by Wood, author of N. E. Prospect,	1630-4
Newbury settled on Quascacunquen river,	1635
First record (extant) of selectmen chosen in Newbury,	1636
Pequod war,	1637
Rowley incorporated, part of which had belonged to Newbury,	1639
Salisbury, on the north side of the Merrimac, settled,	1639
New land laid out by Newbury, including what is now township of West Newbury,	1642
Massachusetts divided into counties,	1643
“ New town,” or what is now Newburyport, laid out,	1644
Southerly part of Water street laid out,	1644
Plum Island divided by the General Court, to Ipswich two-fifths, Newbury two-fifths, Rowley one-fifth,	1649
Curious Sumptuary Laws against dress by General Court,	1651
First wharf built in Newburyport,	1656
King Philip's war,	1675

Case of witchcraft,	1680
Sir Edmund Andros arrives in New England,	1686
Newburyport ferry across the Merrimac established,	1687
Newbury lands claimed by Robert Mason,	1687
William and Mary proclaimed.	1688
French and Indian, or Castine's war,	1688
Fatal attack of Indians on John Brown's family,	1695
Limestone discovered in Newbury, (kiln built foot of Muzzey's lane,)	1697
Name of Quascacunquen river changed to Parker,	1697
Remarkably mild winter,	1700
Old Tenor currency introduced,	1702
Water lots laid out,	1703-4
Byfield parish incorporated,	1710
Unusual quantity of snow fell in winter,	1717
Aurora Borealis first seen in New England,	1719
Cottle's lane (Bromfield street) laid out,	1719
Potatoes and tea came into use about	1719
Unusual high tide,	1728
Sebastian Rallè, the French ally of the Norridgewock Indians, killed by Lieut. Jaques, of Newbury, (his death closed the war,)	1724
First meeting-house raised in Newburyport,	1725
Newbury town-house built on High street, near head of Marlborough street,	1731
Great destruction of vegetation by caterpillars,	1735
Fatal throat distemper prevailed,	1735-6
Boundary line settled between New Hampshire and Massachusetts,	1737
Rev. George Whitfield arrived,	1740
Unusual high and destructive tides this year, October,	1748
Expedition to Louisburg,	1744-5
Peace with the French, (by treaty of Aix la Chapelle,)	1748
Old Tenor currency made illegal,	1750
The First Church in Newburyport vote to have the Scriptures read in public on the Sabbath,	1750
Expedition to Crown Point,	1755
Fifty slaves in Newbury, including Indians and negroes,	1755

Twenty-five Quakers in Newbury,	1755
A Fire Engine imported from London, by Michael Dalton and others,	1761
Town-house built corner of State and Essex streets,	1762
First general census of the Province of Massachusetts taken	1763
Dummer Academy opened,	1763
Newbury voted, October 20th, that they were opposed to the division of the town,	1763
NEWBURYPORT INCORPORATED, January 23th,	1764
First town meeting, February 8th, 10 A. M.,	1764
Three schools for boys established, March,	1764
Daniel Farnham, first Representative to General Court,	1764
Town resent Stamp Act, September,	1765
Distillery set up in Newburyport,	1767
Town agrees to the non-importation of English goods,	1769
First Newspaper in Newburyport,	1773
Committee of Correspondence appointed December 16,	1773
Permanent Committee of Correspondence and Safety appointed September,	1774
Tea excluded from the town by general consent,	1774
Minute-men raised by town, March,	1775
Company march for Lexington, at midnight, April 19,	1775
"Ipswich fright," April 21,	1775
Newburyport companies join in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17th,	1775
Two Representatives sent to General Court at Watertown, July,	1775
Town grant leave to Eb. Morrison to set up a pottery kiln, north-west side of Burying Hill, March,	1775
Fort built on Salisbury shore and Plum Island,	1775
Saltpetre factory established, September,	1775
Arnold's detachment for Canada bivouac in Newburyport, 16th of September; embark the 19th,	1775
Census of the Province of Massachusetts taken,	1776
Town of Newburyport <i>anticipate</i> the Declaration of Independence, and approve May 31,	1776
Declaration of Independence read in the meeting-houses, August 11,	1776

Town raise in August one-sixth of all her able-bodied men for the Continental army,	1777
Mourning garments and entertainments at funerals very generally discarded,	1777
Town approve the Confederation of the States, January 12,	1778
Town propose County convention to consider the proposed Constitution for the State, March,	1778
The "Essex Result," a powerful political pamphlet by Theophilus Parsons, published,	1778
The proposed State Constitution rejected, June,	1778
Trees first set out by order of the town,	1779
School committee "to serve through the year" first chosen,	1780
Town approve Massachusetts Declaration of Rights, May 15,	1780
Accept State Constitution, but appoint special delegates to procure amendments, May,	1780
Dark day, May 19th,	1780
Green street laid out, land given by private individuals,	1781
Bells ordered to be rung at 1 P. M. and 9 P. M.,	1781
Engine companies exempt from training, except in "alarm-bands,"	1781
Town instruct their Representatives to Congress, January 7th, to make right to the fisheries an indispensable article in the treaty of peace,	1782
Vote of thanks of the town to Jonathan Greenleaf, for long and faithful services as a Representative,	1782
Union and Fair streets laid out,	1782
Vote of thanks for public services to Nathaniel Tracy, May 13, and to Tristram Dalton, May 16,	1783
Two beacons erected on Plum Island,	1783
Orange street laid out,	1783
Rufus King, Representative from Newburyport to General Court, July,	1783
Exceeding high tide, November,	1784
General Jonathan Titcomb, Naval Officer for the Port,	1784
Town petitions General Court to be reimbursed for expenses incurred in defending harbor, May 13,	1785

Massachusetts Stamp Act passed,	1785
River frozen over, April 13,	1785
Laird & Ferguson's Brewery opened in fall,	1785
Ezra Lunt heads a company against Shay's men,	1786
Name of Fish street altered to State, May,	1787
Town grant leave to William Bartlett to appoint a man to live in the fort on Plum Island, and take care of the lights,	1787
A great spinning match held in April, at house of Rev. J. Murray,	1787
Federal Constitution approved by the town, September,	1787
Westerly wind prevailed, with but four brief interrup- tions, from November 30, 1787, to March 20,	1788
Kent street laid out,	1788
Name of King street changed to Federal, March,	1789
Tristram Dalton elected to U. S. Senate, and Benja- min Goodhue to House of Representatives for this District,	1789
Washington visits Newburyport, October 31,	1789
Stephen Cross, Collector for Port, Jonathan Titcomb, Naval Officer, Michael Hodge, Surveyor,	1790
Burying ground by Frog Pond enlarged,	1790
Dames' schools for young female children established by town,	1791
A canal from north side of Merrimac river to Hamp- ton, N. H., opened in summer,	1791
Town of Newbury remonstrated against erection of Essex Merrimac Bridge, January,	1792
Town again petition General Court, (as per May 18, 1785,)	1792
Essex Merrimac Bridge opened to public, November,	1792
Names of streets first put up by order of town,	1793
Public stocks removed,	1793
Small-pox hospital built in Common pasture,	1793
Town by vote (August) support neutrality of U. S.,	1793
New work-house built,	1793-4
Woollen factory incorporated, machinery all made in Newburyport,	1794

Embargo of thirty days ordered by Congress, approved by town, May,	1794
Newburyport Library in operation,	1794
By-laws passed by town against smoking in the streets; and forbidding owners of water fowl to allow them to frequent Frog pond,	1794
Conduits sunk by town,	1794
Act passed incorporating the several religious societies then existing in the town, viz.: Rev. Thomas Carey's, Rev. J. Murray's, Rev. Sam'l Spring's, Rev. C. W. Milton's, Rev. Edward Bass's, and amending the mode of taxation,	1794
State survey of Newburyport ordered and taken,	1794
An organ placed in the church in Market square,	1794
Great change took place in the harbor bar,	1795
Pleasant, Harris, Broad and Essex streets laid out,	1795
Brick school-house at southerly end of Mall, built	1796
Fatal malignant fever prevailed, summer and fall,	1796
Lime, Beck, Ship and Spring streets laid out,	1797
Night watch appointed,	1797
Town present patriotic address to President on difficulties with France,	1797
Citizens of Newburyport propose to build a ship for United States, June 1st. She was completed, named Merrimac, and launched October 12,	1798
United States brig Pickering built in Newburyport,	1798
Proprietors sue town for right in Frog pond and land adjoining,	1799
Washington dies December 14, 1799. Funeral ceremonies observed in Newburyport, eulogy by Robert T. Paine, January 2d,	1800
Timothy Palmer appointed surveyor of highways,	1800
Captain Edmund Bartlett gave fourteen hundred dollars to improve the Mall, which then received the name of "Bartlett Mall,"	1800
Town, with the aid of voluntary contributions, purchased the land on which Rev. T. Carey's church stood, (now Market square,) for \$8,000,	1800

Essex Junto excites political animosity,	1800
Market square laid out,	1800
Four stages employed (on a daily line,) between Boston and Newburyport,	1800
Circulating Library in operation with fifteen hundred volumes,	1800
Washington street laid out,	1800
Rope-walk in South street struck by lightning, July,	1800
Public bathing-house opened,	1800
A Religious Library established,	1800
Mackerel fishing commenced about	1800
Labrador fishery commenced by Newburyport vessels about	1799-1800
Travel suspended with Boston eight days, in March, on account of deep snow,	1802
Town of Newbury instruct their Representative to oppose a charter for Newburyport turnpike and Newburyport bridge, asked for by Newburyport,	1802
The road from Newburyport line to Essex Merrimac bridge, laid out and completed by town of Newbury,	1802
Spring and Roberts streets laid out,	1802
Vaccination introduced,	1803
Active Fire Society organized,	1803
Stone jail built,	1803-4
Stage line established with Haverhill,	1803
Public entertainment to Rufus King, September,	1804
Destructive storm, October,	1804
Female Charitable Society incorporated,	1805
Court House on Mall built,	1805
Drought of thirty days, July and August,	1805
Newburyport Social Library instituted,	1805
Newburyport turnpike opened for public travel,	1805
Charter street laid out,	1805
Plum Island turnpike and bridge open to the public, July,	1805
Newburyport Academy incorporated,	1807

Town purchase the County's right in old Court House	1807
Town corresponds with Norfolk, Virginia, on affair of Chesapeake and Leopard, July,	1807
Ninety men raised in anticipation of war, by order of the President,	1807
Embargo, December 29,	1807
Newburyport Mechanic Association formed,	1807
Additional Acts of Embargo, in winter,	1808
Town petition President United States to suspend Em- bargo, August,	1808
Light-houses on Plum Island blown down by violent tornado, June,	1808
Remarkably hot Sunday, July 17,	1808
Another address to President United States on Embar- go, October,	1808
Judge Livermore, Representative to Congress,	1808
Dr. Spring preached (Thanksgiving) against Embargo, December,	1808
Anniversary of first Embargo derisively celebrated, December,	1808
Town memorialize State Legislature on distressed state of the country, January,	1809
Soup houses for relief of poor established in winter	1809
Merrimac Bible Society instituted,	1809
Embargo repealed; Non-Intercourse Act substituted, March,	1809
Upper story added to school-house, south end of Mall,	1809
Old wooden Town House, corner of State and Essex streets, torn down, May,	1809
Brick Town House built on same site,	1810
Committee appointed to see that all inhabitants are vac- cinated,	1810
Athenæum incorporated,	1810
Essex Merrimac bridge rebuilt, being the first in New England, with chain draw,	1810
Town propose compromise measures with Proprietors,	1810
Great fire, May 31,	1811

Act passed by Legislature against erecting wooden buildings over ten feet high, June,	1811
Brick block on State and Inn streets, and south westerly side Market square, built in fall,	1811
An Act for appointing Constables in Newburyport, passed in June,	1811
Town petition for repeal of law against wooden buildings,	1812
Association of Disciples of Washington, or Washington Benevolent Society formed,	1812
Another Embargo Act, to hold for ninety days, April 4,	1812
War declared, June 18,	1812
Public fast appointed by Governor Strong, July,	1812
Town address Governor and Council on the war, June 25,	1812
"Republican Citizens" hold public meeting, and express sentiments in favor of the war, July,	1812
Franklin Library instituted,	1812
Town memorialize Legislature on situation of country, February,	1813
Observatory erected on Lunt's Hill, near head of Bromfield street, July,	1813
Citizens organize for defence of town, summer,	1813
Extensive repudiation of mourning garments and expensive funerals,	1813
Temporary fort erected on Plum Island, summer,	1813
Selectmen give notice that a <i>hearse</i> is provided for use of town,	1813
British ships of war lying off the harbor, November,	1813
United States sloop-of-war Wasp, built, and launched September 18,	1813
Embargo Act in December, to continue (unless peace was concluded,) till 1815,	1813
Alarm posts established,	1814
Public illuminations and ringing of bells on abdication of Napoleon, June 17,	1814
Merrimack Military Society, organized August,	1814
The New England States unite in general thanksgiving, December 1,	1814

Direct tax difficult to collect,	1814
Public rejoicings on news of peace with Great Britain, February 14,	1815
Five missionaries ordained, (June) and four sailed for Ceylon and Calcutta, in September, in brig Dryade, viz. : Messrs. Poor, Richards, Bardwell and Meigs,	1815
Cool summer,	1815
Thespian Club formed, December,	1816
President Monroe visited town June 12,	1817
Society for "emigrating West" formed,	1817
Sabbath School and Tract Societies formed,	1817
Fishing company started winter of	1817
Cold Friday, January 13,	1818
Howard Benevolent Society formed,	1818
West Newbury incorporated,	1819
Methodism introduced,	1819
Stoves introduced into meeting-houses about	1819
Convention to amend State Constitution,	1820
Linnean Society instituted,	1820
Merrimac Mission and Translation Society formed. T. M. Clark, President,	1820
Maine separated from Massachusetts and admitted to the Union,	1820
Piratical fleet appear in Bahama channel and greatly annoy our commerce for several years,	1820
Stephen M. Clark, of Newburyport, aged 17, executed in Salem for arson, May 10,	1821
Intensely cold January 24-26,	1821
Newburyport Debating Society get up Fourth of July celebration,	1822
Marine Bible Society formed,	1822
Society for promoting religious welfare of the Isles of Shoals formed,	1822
Market Hall built,	1823
Town pay the pilotage of foreign wood coasters,	1823
Vote of thanks by the town "to Mr. John Porter, for unprecedented energy in collecting the taxes,"	1824

La Fayette visits the town August 31,	1824
Jail empty, May 31,	1825
National Independence not celebrated July 4th,	1825
A lottery got up to aid Canal project, December 2d,	1825
Two circulating libraries open,	1826
Peace Society in operation,	1826
The town petition for a bank to assist Canal project,	1826
Fiftieth Anniversary of American Independence celebrated with unusual splendor, and a Eulogy pronounced on Adams and Jefferson by Caleb Cushing, July 4th,	1826
Proprietors seek to eject town from Market House,	1826
Cushing's History of Newburyport published August,	1826
Proprietary claims extinguished,	1826
Special survey of harbor ordered by United States completed,	1827
Mozart Society formed,	1827
Jonathan Gage brought a suit against the Assessor of the Fourth Religious Society for the recovery of his parish tax ; plaintiff sustained by Supreme Court on ground that there existed no written form of membership, in spring,	1827
Harriet Livermore, (daughter of Judge Livermore, of Newburyport,) preached at Tammany Hall in New York,	1827
Water temporarily deepened on the bar,	1827
Newburyport Bridge opened to public, September 7,	1827
Newburyport Lyceum established,	1829-30
A breakwater built by order of Congress, (1828,) not completed till	1831
Brown Grammar and town Latin schools united, forming the present male Brown High School,	1832
Public fast in view of approach of cholera, June,	1832
<i>Daily Herald</i> commenced,	1832
Coal coming into general use,	1832
Richmond Circle organized (to support schools in Greece,)	1832
Collections made for Cape de Verde sufferers,	1832

Meeting of citizens to express anti-nullification sentiments,	1832
William Lloyd Garrison refused opportunity of speaking on slavery in Newburyport,	1832
A library of three hundred and ninety volumes collected for use of male High School,	1832
Henry Page found dead in his shop in Liberty street, having been twice stabbed, January 13,	1832
Town vote that the law forbidding the erection of wooden buildings over ten feet high "is prejudicial to the interests of the town," and ought to be repealed,	1832
Plum Island Bridge washed away,	1832
Committee appointed to organize new Fire Department, March,	1833
Town ordered bells to be rung at sunrise,	1833
Margaret Atwood's legacy to necessitous poor, out of the almshouse, received by selectmen,	1833
Petition presented to Congress to rebuild Plum Island Bridge,	1833
Old "beacon oak" on High street, fell down Sunday, July 21,	1833
Whaling Company formed,	1833
Newburyport Horticultural Society Exhibition, September,	1833
John Quincy Adams revisits Newburyport,	1833
Town (majority in meeting,) request selectmen not to grant retail liquor licenses,	1833
Act conferring full religious freedom, April 1,	1834
Meeting of Essex County Freemasons, at Topsfield, September, to consult on expediency of surrendering their charters,	1834
"A safe" procured for the safe-keeping of the Town Records,	1834
Washington Light Infantry disbanded March,	1834
Considerable emigration to Texas from Newburyport, in spring,	1835

Celebration of "Second Centennial Anniversary of settlement of Newbury," observed in Newburyport, May 26,	1835
Society for Relief of Aged Females organized,	1835
Cotton manufacture introduced,	1835
Museum opened,	1835
Granite Custom House built,	1835
Steamboat excursions on Merrimac river, summer,	1835
Wm. Wheelwright, of Newburyport, obtains exclusive right to the steam navigation of ports and rivers of Chili,	1835
Bill introduced to Legislature to incorporate Newburyport Silk Company,	1835
Relief Act for mackerel fishers passed Congress,	1835
Great shifting of the "bar,"	1837
Plum Island bridge rebuilt,	1837
Bartlett's woollen yarn, cotton batting, and wicking factory, foot of Market street, burned; November,	1837
Tithing-men dispensed with,	1837
Surplus revenue received,	1837
Centre Female Grammar School continued through the year,	1837-8
Plum Island Lights rebuilt,	1838
Notifications for town meetings advertised in the Herald, instead of being "nailed on the First Parish meeting-house,"	1839
Water brought in pipes from Frog pond to Brown's square,	1839
Great storms, December 15th, 24th and 30th,	1839
Property qualification for Senatorial voters abolished,	1840
Lyceum Institute (academy for young ladies) opened,	1840
Winter female schools established,	1840
Music by band on the Mall, summer evenings,	1840
New channel opened through Salisbury beach, December,	1840
County convention held, and public dinner given to Hon. Caleb Cushing, Webster, and other distinguished men present. J. Q. Adams sent a toast. A	

soirée was given in the evening to some three thousand persons, in the fall of	1840
Eastern Railroad opened to Newburyport, June 16,	1840
Funeral ceremonies observed for the late President Harrison, May 3,	1841
Collections made for sufferers by storm at Rockport, November, amounting to \$288.43,	1841
Oak Hill Cemetery laid out, consecrated July 21,	1842
Surplus revenue appropriated, June 1st,	1843
Explosion of steam-boiler in Wormsted's patent cordage factory, between Bromfield and Marlborough streets; one man killed, another dangerously wounded, October 19,	1843
Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the ordination of Rev. Dr. Dana observed by religious services at Federal street church, and social gathering of his friends in the evening, November 19,	1844
Newburyport Museum closed,	1845
Coffin's History of "Ould Newbury, West Newbury, and Newburyport," published,	1845
Steamers on the Merrimac in summer,	1846
War with Mexico,	1846
First Directory of Newburyport published, containing 2162 names,	1846
Houses first numbered,	1847
Collections for Ireland, winter,	1847
Magnetic Telegraph office opened December 25,	1847
Bells tolled, flags at half-mast, for death of J. Q. Adams, February 26,	1848
Athenæum Library sold and dispersed,	1849
"Father Matthew" in town, September,	1849
Newburyport Railroad opened to Georgetown, May 22,	1850
Corner-stone of the Town Hall (present City Hall) laid July 4th,	1850
A man named Cutler mobbed for publishing a statement "that many mackerel fishermen took out papers for the cod fishery, to secure the bounty," November 26,	1850

"Bromfield fund" income applied to improvement of streets,	1851
Part of Newbury annexed to Newburyport, April 16,	1851
Annual March meeting held in new Town Hall,	1851
City Government organized June 24,	1851
North Essex Horticultural Society, William Ashby, President, organized October,	1852
Union Mutual Marine Insurance Company, incorporated April 10, I. H. Boardman, President, J. J. Knapp, Secretary,	1852

EARTHQUAKES.

Earthquakes have occurred in Newburyport and the immediate vicinity, in the following years:

- 1638, June 1st, P. M., (fair day.)
- 1643, March, early morning.
- 1663, January, February, and July.
- 1685, February 8th, Sabbath, P. M.
- 1727, October, November, and December.
- 1728, January, at intervals till May.
- 1729, March, September, October, and November.
- 1730, February, April, July, August, November and December.
- 1731, January, March, May, July, August, and October.
- 1733, October 19th.
- 1734, January, October, and November.
- 1735, February 2d, 6 P. M.
- 1736, February, July, October, and November.
- 1737, February and December.
- 1741, January.
- 1742, March and September.
- 1743, August.
- 1744, May and June.
- 1747, January and December.
- 1755, November 18, and December 19.
- 1756, March.
- 1760, February.
- 1768, January and June.
- 1770, February 24th, snow-storm.

- 1779, December.
- 1780, November, midnight.
- 1783, November.
- 1786, January and December.
- 1810, November.
- 1817, October 5th, Sunday.
- 1846, August 25th, at 5 A. M.
- 1852, November 27th, night.

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ERRATA.

Page 22, foot note should not be credited to County Records.

- " 28, third line from bottom, read *odor* for order.
- " 64, second line from bottom, read omit it.
- " 177, in note †, for Esq., read *M. D.*
- " 198, for Capt. Wells, read *Wills*.
- " 214, ninth line from top, for three, read *one*.
- " 216, for Summer street, read *Strong*.
- " 267, for Atley, read *Alley*.
- " 268, fifth line from foot, for Pierice, read *Pierce*.
- " 303, thirteenth line from foot, read 1725 for 1735.
- " 281, the Union Mutual Marine was accidentally omitted in list of Insurance Offices. [See Chronological Index.]

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